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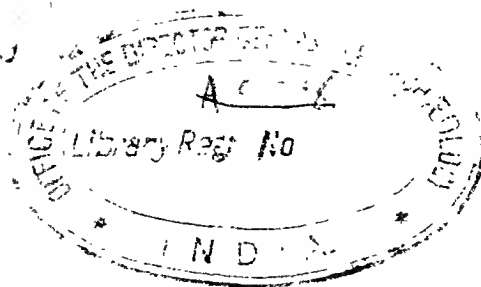
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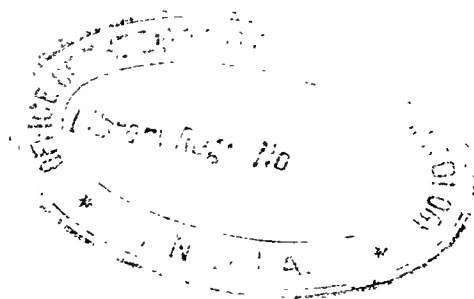
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## THE END OF THE ODYSSEY

THE course of Homeric criticism during the last twenty years or so has not indeed given us any grounds for thinking that unanimity on fundamental questions is likely to be reached in the near future, but it has accomplished one thing. It is possible now to think and speak of Homer as a man who was born at a definite fortunate moment, ate, drank, and even slumbered, composed two long epics much in the same way as other men of genius have composed great works, had his joys and sorrows, triumphs and disappointments, and ultimately died—it is possible to think and speak of him thus without being considered absurdly simple or simply absurd. And so one can venture to approach the problem of the last section of the *Odyssey* in just the same way that one would approach a similar literary problem in a later age of the world, taking it for granted that the poet lived and worked under ordinary human conditions. In this paper I assume without discussion the truth of the unitarian view that Homer was the author of the *Iliad* and of the *Odyssey* (at least to ψ 296), and also that the *Odyssey* is the later of the two; I assume that in composing them he was aided by the art of writing; and I assume that he lived about 900–850 B.C. at latest.

The end of the *Odyssey*, suspected as unhomeric by two of the leading ancient critics—Ἀριστοφάνης καὶ Ἀρίσταρχος πέρας τῆς Ὀδυσσεΐας τοῦτο [sc. ψ 296] ποιοῦνται—though not formally athetised, has in modern days been condemned by such an accomplished and discreet critic as Mr. Allen. The case against it is essentially literary, and therefore in some measure subjective, but it appears to me to be extraordinarily strong. Essentially literary, though some points in language and metre have been alleged in its support. They are not very numerous and they are not very serious. There are few considerable sections in either of the two epics in which a critic who is in quest of diasceuaists cannot find ‘marks of lateness,’ and in some other sections such points are much more abundant than in this. As all these difficulties or similar ones recur elsewhere in the poems, they need not be discussed here.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For instance, the impossible form μαχεύμενοι in ω 113 meets us in λ 403 μαχεύμενον, where the same passage occurs. The right reading is clearly μαχεόμενον, which was changed to suit posthomeric metrical canons. The incorrect ἦν (twice in this section ψ 316, ω 343) should be amended to ἦεν, as also in τ 283; in each of these three cases it occurs as the first foot of a verse and at the end of a clause followed by ἀλλά or δέ, and the emphatic position enables the trochee to do duty for a spondee (in Δ 808

there is no metrical ‘necessity’ for ἦν, and Mr. Monro pointed out that ἦεν should be read there). A contracted genitive from a nominative in -εύς (Ὀδυσσεύς ω 398) happens to be unique; but here the only question which really arises is whether it is a case of contraction or of synizesis, a particular case of a general question which pervades the poems. I should be inclined to read Ὀδυσσεός. In the same way Ἑρμείας might well be restored in ω 1, ε 54 and elsewhere; the form is preserved in E 390.

Language and metre, then, furnish no good evidence even for suspecting that  $\psi$  297 to the end of  $\omega$  could not have come directly from Homer's hand. It is the literary art that must decide, and it seems to me to be decisive. (1) We have, in the first place,  $\psi$  310-343, the story of his wanderings which Odysseus relates to Penelope, and which reads like a table of contents to Books  $\epsilon$ - $\mu$ ; and then  $\omega$  125-185, Amphimedon's recapitulation of the story of the wooing of Penelope and all that had happened since the landing of Odysseus in Ithaca. Mr. Allen is very properly severe on both these passages.<sup>2</sup> I do not know that I should go as far as he does in urging against them the generalisation that Homer nowhere epitomises himself. I do not see why he might not have epitomised once or twice if an artistic effect was to be gained. And has he not epitomised himself in  $\eta$  where Odysseus (244-296) recapitulates the narrative of  $\epsilon$  and  $\zeta$ ? And in  $\rho$  (108-147) where Telemachus epitomises for his mother the events of his journey which was told in  $\gamma$  and  $\delta$ ? Homer may deprecate the practice

*αὖτις ἀριζήλως εἰρημένα μυθολογέειν,*

but this means that he does not propose to repeat a recapitulation for the benefit of the *same audience*. Odysseus will not repeat in  $\mu$  for Alcinous and his court the story he had already told them in  $\eta$ . Homer's art does not exclude recapitulations as such, but he knows how to make them interesting. The tale of Amphimedon is intolerably tedious, while it is impossible to see that such a conscientious *ἀνακεφαλαίωσις* as  $\psi$  310 κ.τ.λ. is useful or requisite in the economy of the poem. This summary is a smooth and fluent exercise in hexameters, with one redeeming feature, the vividness of  $\nu$ . 342,

*τοῦτ' ἄρα δεύτερον εἶπε ἔπος ὅτε οἱ γλυκὺς ὕπνος  
λυσιμελὴς ἐπόρουσε.*

(2) The epitome of Amphimedon is part of the Psychostasia, which was athetised by Aristarchus and is certainly the weakest part of the ending of the *Odyssey*. The talk between Agamemnon and Achilles, before the souls of the suitors arrive, is irrelevant, if not insufferable.<sup>3</sup> These two heroes had been together in the under-world for many years; Odysseus had spoken with them in  $\lambda$ ; and now they are made to meet as if it were for the first time. Mr. Allen, like others, has rightly insisted on this incongruity, which cannot be defended by a parallel like the Teichoscopia. I cannot agree with him, however, that a 'second Nekyia' is in itself unhomeric on the ground that 'Homer does not repeat himself in this way; there is no case of such a repetition of a motive once used.' After all, in the *Iliad* there is a *μονομαχία* in  $\Gamma$  and another in  $H$ . A great deal depends on the precise significance of a 'motive.' I cannot see why Homer might not have taken his audience with him on two different occasions into the world of ghosts for two completely different purposes. He had described that world in  $\lambda$  and made it known; and if, for some reason

<sup>2</sup> *The Canonicity of Homer*, in *Cl. Q.* vii. 4, Oct. 1913.

it (*Die Odyssee als Dichtung*, p. 187) is quite unconvincing.

<sup>3</sup> The attempt of Mr. Rothe to defend

connected with his argument, it was convenient for him to revisit it afterwards, is it quite fair to call this a repetition of a motive once used? If he had taken Odysseus there a second time, the criticism would be unexceptionable. But the place of ghosts beyond the Ocean stream was a geographical fact; the ghosts of the suitors inevitably went there; and if something for the purpose of his theme was to be gained by following them for a few minutes, was there anything inartistic in taking us there although we had, for a totally different purpose, spent an hour there before? The objection to this second visit to the shades lies for me not in the visit itself but in the clumsiness of the execution, the uselessness as well as the tediousness of a great part of it. If Homer wrote it, his hand had lost its craft.

There is another argument against the psychostasia which can hardly be esteemed very strong. It is urged that it contains conceptions about the world of the dead which are inconsistent with the beliefs that can be traced in Homer elsewhere. To this it may be said in general that beliefs about ghosts and the other world did not form a definite body of doctrine. That inconsistencies, reflecting the vagueness of the conceptions, are rather to be expected, and that a poet was at liberty to select from the popular beliefs whatever was useful for his immediate purpose, without concerning himself whether the various intimations in all parts of his poems could be wrought into a perfectly consistent picture.<sup>4</sup> And, as a matter of fact, the other passages bearing on Hades—Ψ 65-107, κ 490-540, λ, Θ 366-369—do not present a clear consistent conception contrasted with that of ω; in them too there are incongruities which it is not easy to harmonise. To the particular objection raised by Aristarchus, that Homer did not elsewhere introduce Hermes performing the function of a conductor of souls,<sup>5</sup> the answer might be made that it did not happen to suit Homer to do so. It does not prove that Hermes ψυχοπομπός is posthomeric. And offices of Hermes in connexion with death are implied in the attributes of his wand, τῇ τ' ἀνδρῶν ὄμματα θέλγει κ.τ.λ. Ω 343, ε 47.

(3) As to the rest of ω more will be said below; it is enough to say now that taken as a whole it is not unhomeric, but it is, in parts at least, perfunctory and gives the impression that if Homer wrote it he was impatient to get to the end of his task and was not feeling the joy of creation. Altogether it must, I think, be admitted that 'the end of the *Odyssey*, to put it bluntly, is bungled,' in the words of Mr. Mackail,<sup>6</sup> though the bungling begins not, in my opinion, where he puts it, at the end of τ, but near the point where Aristophanes and Aristarchus thought that Homer's own work terminated.

How then did this last canto of the *Odyssey*, containing some parts which

<sup>4</sup> I observe that Mr. Rothe has made much the same remark, *op. cit.* p. 180.

<sup>5</sup> I cannot agree with Mr. Monro (in his note *ad loc.*) that 'the passing away of life is so often described in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* that this argument is as strong as any argument *ex silentio* can be.' For since in none of these cases, except in that

of Elpenor in λ, would a description of the soul's journey to Hades have been in the least relevant, the amplitude claimed for the argument *ex silentio* really disappears. In the case of Elpenor a mention of Hermes would have been relevant, but it was not necessary.

<sup>6</sup> *Lectures on Greek Poetry*, p. 59.

it seems impossible to ascribe to the author of the rest of the poem—for there are limits to the ‘bungling’ of a Homer—along with others which a unitarian might not be inclined to suspect if they stood alone, come to be there? The latest answer to the question is that of Mr. Allen, and it deserves careful consideration, coming from one who has such an intimate knowledge of Homer and all Homeric problems. His view is that the end of the *Odyssey* was the work of a diasceuaist who derived the ‘retrospective scenes’ in  $\psi$  and the *nekya* from the *Thesprotis* of Musaeus, and himself composed the ‘country scenes’ ( $\omega$  205 to end). The theory is definite and attractive.

Of the *Thesprotis*, attributed to Musaeus, who is only a name, we know very little. The title we get from Pausanias (viii. 12, 5), and Clement of Alexandria states that it was copied, in fact appropriated, by Eugammon in his *Telegonia*. Clement’s words are :

αὐτοτελὼς γὰρ τὰ ἐτέρων ὑφελόμενοι ὡς ἴδια ἐξήνεγκαν καθάπερ  
Εὐγάμμων ὁ Κυρηναῖος ἐκ Μουσαίου τὸ περὶ Θεσπρωτῶν βιβλίον ὀλόκληρον.<sup>7</sup>

From this it is a legitimate inference that the subject of the poem of Musaeus was, or included, a visit of Odysseus to Thesprotia, where there was an entrance to the under-world at the river Acheron. Mr. Allen assumes that it began with a *précis* of the *Odyssey* which supplied the diasceuaist with his material for the recapitulations, and he finds the significant point of connexion between the *Thesprotis* and the diasceuaist in  $\omega$  11 :

παρ δ’ ἴσαν Ὀκεανοῦ τε ῥοὰς καὶ Λευκάδα πέτρην,

where he takes  $\Lambda.\pi.$  to be the terrestrial Cape Leucas in Dulichium (I accept unreservedly Mr. Allen’s convincing defence of Bunbury’s equation Dulichium = Leucas), and supposes that the poet conceived the ghosts flying north from Ithaca over Leucas and along the Albanian coast to the Thesprotian river.

This interesting conjecture appears to me to be beset by two particular difficulties. (1) The *Thesprotis* must have been a very short poem. For it was incorporated *whole* in the *Telegonia* (if we make use of Clement’s statement we cannot neglect his emphatic ὀλόκληρον), and the *Telegonia* was itself a short epic consisting of only two Books,<sup>8</sup> while its main subject was the slaying of Odysseus by his son, which we have no reason to suppose was part of the *Thesprotis*. These being the data, it seems somewhat hazardous to suppose that a short poem contained an epitome of the *Odyssey*, running to a good many verses. This is not, of course, a decisive objection—we know so little of the *Thesprotis*—but it is at least a difficulty. (2) The interpretation of *Λευκάδα πέτρην* as a reference to the island of Leucas implies that *ὠκεανοῦ* is used in a posthomeric sense, equivalent to *θάλασσα*, and this, of course, is possible, though I do not know of an early parallel for *ὠκεανοῦ ῥοαί* referring to a small portion of the sea like that between Leucas and Ithaca. Mr. Allen says that while in this verse the indications of the route are terrestrial, in the next verse (*ἡδὲ παρ’ ἡελίοιο πύλας καὶ δῆμον ὀνειρῶν*) we are taken beyond

<sup>7</sup> *Strom.* VI Chap. II. 25, 1 (p. 442, ed. Stählin).

<sup>8</sup> Proclus, *Chrest.*, p. 109 in Allen’s ed. of the Cycle.

the sphere of earth, presumably into the neighbourhood or suburbs of the place of ghosts. But the theory is that the entry to that place is near the Acheron in Thesprotia, apparently by a subterranean passage, and, if so, it is difficult to explain what the gates of the sun mean in this connexion. The passage seems to me much simpler if we take Ocean in its Homeric sense and assume that the ghost-world is in the same locality in which it is conceived in  $\lambda$ , that is in the east, beyond the circumambient stream. Hermes and the ghosts flying eastward across land and sea reached Ocean before the poet begins to describe their route  $\kappa\alpha\tau' \epsilon\upsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha \kappa\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\theta\alpha$ . The Leucadian rock must then be a legendary landmark, by the river Ocean. That the topographical indications here are not the same as in  $\lambda$  (where we are told of the Cimmerians, but the Leucadian rock and the deme of dreams are not mentioned) is no disproof of the identity of the general conception of the whereabouts of Hades in  $\omega$  and  $\lambda$ ; because the ghosts need not have reached their habitation by the same road by which Odysseus reached it from Aeaea.<sup>9</sup> On the whole, the Leucas-Thesprotic interpretation of  $\omega$  10-12 seems to involve more serious difficulties than any which arise from understanding  $\acute{\omega}\kappa\epsilon\alpha\nu\omicron\upsilon \rho\acute{o}\iota\varsigma$  in the same sense as  $\rho\acute{o}\omicron\nu \acute{\omega}\kappa\epsilon\alpha\nu\omicron\iota\omicron$  in  $\lambda$  21.

But passing over these particular objections, we are met by a general difficulty when we consider what the addition of the diasceuaast's work to the epic of Homer implies. We know nothing definite about Musaeus, but I suppose that the *Thesprotis* cannot with any probability be placed prior to 750 B.C., when the earliest cyclic poets may have been living. As Eugammon's date falls in the last thirty years of the seventh century, the limits for Musaeus would be roughly 750 and 650, and I suppose Mr. Allen would hardly choose a date earlier than 700 for his diasceuaast. I find it, then, hard to believe that if the Homeric *Odyssey* (ending at  $\psi$  296) had been recited for 150 or 100 years, and its compass was perfectly well known to the Greeks, a new canto could have suddenly been attached to it and gained universal acceptance as Homeric. Such an addition is not like single verses or short passages which were intruded from time to time into the body of the two poems, such, for instance, as the  $\theta\rho\eta\nu\omicron\varsigma \text{ Μουσάων}$ , if, as Aristarchus judged and as may well be the case, that was a later insertion in  $\omega$  itself (60-62).

To any one who holds, as I do, that Homer could not have designed  $\psi$  296 as the termination of his epic, the theory of a diasceuaast, whether in the eighth or in the seventh century, adding a new section to the *Odyssey* and foisting upon it a new ending, will be still more difficult. That the poet could have contemplated the reunion of Odysseus with Penelope as an artistic or even tolerable ending to his poem appears to me almost incredible.

<sup>9</sup> The island of Circe was in the east ( $\mu$  4), and north of the land of the Cimmerians ( $\kappa$  507). Therefore the land of the Cimmerians and the ghost-world were imagined by Homer as in the east or south-east, not in the north, much less in the west. The return journey northward to Aeaea was facilitated by the current of the Ocean,

so that this stream in Homer's conception flowed in the opposite direction to the movement of the hands of a clock. Mr. Berger (*Mythische Kosmographie der Griechen*, p. 32) placed the world of the dead in the west, but his idea of the routes is not lucidly expressed, and I am not sure that I understand his view.



For (1)<sup>10</sup> it was necessary, for the satisfaction of those who listened to the recitation, to tell how the inevitable feud between Odysseus and the men of Ithaca whose kinsmen he had slain was composed, and this necessity was stronger in a work addressed to Greek ears than it would be in the case of a story-teller writing for modern readers. Odysseus and his son were in a serious predicament, as the Homeric Odysseus so fully realised that, always 'most provident in peril,' he took corresponding precautions ( $\psi$  118 κ.τ.λ.), and if the outcome was not to be related in the *Odyssey*, those precautions (in fact the whole passage  $\psi$  117-152) should have been omitted. They are irrelevant and inartistic if the poem was to close at v. 296; their meaning and justification are furnished by the sequel told in  $\psi$  361-372 and  $\omega$  412 κ.τ.λ.

(2) No less requisite was a meeting between the son and the father. The interest in Laertes, the fact that he was living in the country neglected and sorrowful, never coming to the city, is insisted on not once but repeatedly, at intervals throughout the poem. At the beginning, Athene in the form of Mentes speaks of him to Telemachus as

ἐρπύζοντ' ἀνὰ γουνὸν ἀλωΐς οἶνοπέδοιο (α 189).

The web that Penelope was weaving was to be a *ταφήιον* for Laertes ( $\beta$  99). When she and Telemachus are mentioned as pining for the wanderer's return, Laertes is never forgotten ( $\delta$  111,  $\xi$  173). When she is anxious about the absence of Telemachus, she thinks of sending a messenger to Laertes to ask for his advice ( $\delta$  738). Anticleia tells her son of his father's forlorn life in the country ( $\lambda$  187-194), and Eumaeus repeats the description when Odysseus inquires for his father and mother ( $\theta$  353). When Telemachus returns safe, the thought of Eumaeus is to send the news at once to his grandfather ( $\pi$  138). When Odysseus enjoins on Telemachus to keep his own return a secret from every one, he thinks of Laertes first ( $\pi$  302). Laertes is never passed over in any context where it was relevant to mention him, and in my view Homer would have shirked his work most unhomerically if he had thought of concluding the epic without showing the meeting of the father and son.

The *σπονδαί* and the *ἀναγνώρισις* were simply indispensable. The *ψυχαστασία* was not. But (3) it is to be observed that the psychostasia had a use and a meaning in the economy of the poem. It served to strike finally a note which had been struck at the very beginning, and afterwards recurrently,<sup>11</sup> the contrast between the tragedy of the return of Agamemnon and the tragic-comedy of the return of Odysseus. The story of the tragedy is told three times, —by Nestor, by Menelaus, by Agamemnon himself,—and it is skilfully used both to stimulate Telemachus by the example of Orestes<sup>12</sup> and to suggest the contrast between the good and the bad queen. The emphasis which the

<sup>10</sup> The substance of this and the following considerations has of course been urged often by those who hold  $\omega$  genuine, and recently, I see, by Mr. Rothe in *Die Odyssee als Dichtung*, pp. 181 *sqq.* They were well put by Miss Stawell, in *Homer and the Iliad*.

<sup>11</sup> α 29-30, 35 κ.τ.λ., 298-300; γ 193-198, 248 κ.τ.λ.; δ 512 κ.τ.λ.; λ 409 κ.τ.λ. cp. 445.

<sup>12</sup> This has been well brought out by Mr. Sheppard in his interesting article *J.H.S.*, xxxvii. 47 *sqq.*

poet laid on this motive is shown by his selection of it in the first scene of the poem as the topic with which Zeus opens the conversation in the Olympian palace and gives Athene her opportunity for intervening on behalf of Odysseus (α 28 κ.τ.λ.); and again by its introduction at the first convenient point in the second part of the poem, when Odysseus says to Athene (ν 383) :

ὦ πόποι, ἦ μάλα δὴ Ἀγαμέμνωνος Ἀτρεΐδᾶς  
φθίσεσθαι κακὸν οἶτον ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἔμελλον  
εἰ μὴ μοι σὺ ἕκαστα, θεῦ, κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπες.

To recur to it again after the *dénouement*, after Odysseus had escaped such a fate as that of Agamemnon and Penelope's fidelity had been established, was not indeed a necessity of the story, but was it not almost a necessity of Homer's treatment? The poet who made such insistent use of the motive would not have been likely to let it fall out of mind at the end. And a psychostasia was an ingenious and simple invention for reintroducing it in an effective way. The ghosts of the suitors went to the ghost-world and the poet takes us with them in order that we may witness Agamemnon hearing the news and pronouncing the praise of Penelope. That is a dramatic incident, and if it were well executed would be much more effective than it would be, for instance, to place some comment on the Agamemnonian tragedy in the mouth of Odysseus himself or any one at Ithaca.

(4) There is yet another reason for hesitating to believe that ψ 296 could have been the end contemplated by Homer. We might expect an intimation that Odysseus told his story to Penelope. For that Homer had this in his mind is shown by λ 223, where Anticleia says :

ταῦτα δὲ πάντα  
ἴσθ' ἵνα καὶ μετόπισθε τεῇ εἵπησθα γυναικί.

And that he had not forgotten, is proved by ψ 241-246. For it is in order to give the husband and wife time to recount to each other their experiences that Athene prolongs the night, and any one who believes that Homer fixed ψ 296 as his termination must omit those six lines as an interpolation of the diasceust who was responsible for the last section. As a matter of fact, we have the conversation of the king and queen described as Homer might have described it in the unexceptionable passage ψ 297-309. The only reason for placing the end of Homer's work at 296 instead of 309 was that it seemed to make a better conclusion.

On these grounds Mr. Allen's theory involves for me the additional difficulty that I should have to suppose that the present ending of the *Odyssey* replaced, in the eighth or seventh century, a genuine Homeric ending, and that although the general argument and incidents in the new ending were virtually the same as in the old. And this difficulty is for me insuperable.

The problem, as I conceive it, may be stated thus. The actual ending of the poem, as it has come down, was not composed by Homer, but its contents represent partly what Homer must have designed and partly what he might well have designed as the conclusion of the *Odyssey*. The meeting of the father and son, and the *σπονδαί*, were absolutely necessary. The psychostasia was

an incident, invented with Homeric skill for an artistic purpose, and spoiled by a less cunning hand than Homer's own. But this ending cannot have been attached to the poem after it had been constantly recited for more than a hundred years and was well known to have been complete at  $\psi$  296; and it is inconceivable that a genuine conclusion should have been ejected to make way for inferior work of similar argument.

If this statement of the problem is admitted, a solution is clear. The poet died before he completed the *Odyssey*, but he knew exactly what the conclusion should be. His two epics were valuable property. Now in the case of works left by their authors in an unfinished state, in later times, and addressed to a reading public, the literary executors usually issue them in their incomplete condition. That was the case with the *Aeneid*. Varius and Tucca published it after Virgil's death, *sub ea lege ut nihil adderent*. In the case of the *Odyssey* that could not have been done. An unfinished epic was of little use for solemn and regular recitations at feasts. Audiences did not want a story without its proper termination. It was therefore a practical necessity that as Homer could not do the conclusion it should be done at once by another hand. Homer realised this himself and provided for it, by communicating to a disciple the plot of the final section. These two assumptions, that Homer died before the poem was finished and that he entrusted to a successor the general argument of the last canto, form the hypothesis which explains the data. We may speculate whether the rhapsode who played the part of literary executor was also Homer's heir, we may wonder whether his name was Stasinus, who, a tradition recorded, married Homer's daughter;<sup>13</sup> but these are questions we cannot answer. Whoever the disciple was, he knew the poems thoroughly and was versed in the master's technique. The important thing is that the end of the *Odyssey* dates from Homer's own age, and was in the possession of the Homerids of Chios (on whom Mr. Allen's criticism<sup>14</sup> has shed new light) from the very beginning.

We may perhaps go further. Homer worked 'by wit and not by witchcraft.' There is no reason whatever to suppose that he composed either of his epics continuously from beginning to end in the order of the argument, as it were *stans pede in uno*, and never wrote a later before an earlier scene. On the contrary, it appears highly probable that in the *Iliad* later parts were composed before earlier parts and afterwards changed to conform to the earlier parts which had been composed in the meantime. The theory of the expansion of the *Iliad* is true, only Homer himself was the expander. There need be no question of expansion in the *Odyssey*, but the evidence of the *Iliad* justifies the view that Homer, like other creators, may have often worked out scenes when he had conceived them without waiting until he actually came to them and had completed all that went before. I suggest that this was the case with  $\omega$  205-412. The whole scene of the meeting of Odysseus and Laertes is not unworthy of Homer, and the passage (336-348) in which the son recalls an incident of his boyhood, in order to convince his father that he is indeed Odysseus, shows

<sup>13</sup> Cp. Suidas sub  $\sigma\omicron\upsilon\mu\pi\omicron\varsigma$  (p. 258 in Allen's ed. of the *Vitae*). <sup>14</sup> *Cl. Q.* i. 3, July 1907.

the same mastery of pathetic effect—though here the pathos is in the tragicomic, not in the tragic tone—as Homer displayed in the Astyanax episode in the *Iliad*. It is easier to be confident that a passage could not, than that it could only, have been written by Homer, and the authorship of this episode cannot be argued. One can only have an opinion.

One is naturally shy of introducing into a philological argument an opinion or impression,—the ‘subjective element’ which depends on personal reaction. But it is impossible to exclude it altogether from an investigation like the present. Let me illustrate by a minor instance. The Alexandrian critics, Zenodotus, Aristophanes, and Aristarchus, athetised M 175–181, and many modern scholars have endorsed their judgment. The passage is :

- ὥς ἔφατ', οὐδὲ Διὸς πεῖθε φρένα ταῦτ' ἀγορεύων.  
 "Ἐκτορι γάρ οἱ θυμὸς ἐβούλετο κῦδος ὀρέξαι.  
 175 ἄλλοι δ' ἀμφ' ἄλλησι μάχην ἐμάχοντο πύλῃσιν.  
 ἀργαλέον δέ με ταῦτα θεὸν ὥς πάντ' ἀγορεύσαι.  
 πάντῃ γὰρ περὶ τείχος ὀρώρει θεσπιδαῆς πῦρ  
 λάϊνον· Ἀργεῖοι δὲ καὶ ἀχνύμενοί περ ἀνάγκῃ  
 νηῶν ἡμύνοντο· θεοὶ δ' ἀκαχίατο θυμὸν  
 180 πάντες ὅσοι Δαναῶσι μάχης ἐπιτάρροθοι ἦσαν.  
 σὺν δ' ἔβαλον Λαπῖθαι πόλεμον καὶ δηϊοτῆτα.

There cannot indeed be much hesitation in rejecting 177–181 as an interpolation, and a bad one. But I am not less convinced that 175–176 are genuine. 176 has for me the Homeric touch, and I cannot believe that it was written by an interpolator or by any other poet than Homer himself. In this case, as it happens, I can find an ‘objective’ confirmation of this opinion. On the usual assumption that the work of the alien hand began at 175, no motive for the interpolation is apparent. But given 175–176 as genuine, the motive at once appears. The interpolator asked himself, ‘Why ἀργαλέον?’ and vv. 177–181 are his infelicitous answer.

In considering a question of this kind, account must be taken of the general scheme of the composition of the poem. Mr. Drerup’s investigations have brought this subject to the front, and in his interesting study of the *aristeia* of Diomedes he has proposed schemes for both the epics.<sup>15</sup> I fully agree with Mr. Drerup that Homer did not compose formless narratives, but built up his poems on definite plans, carefully thought out, and that the symmetrical disposition of the parts was a consideration which affected the design; and I agree that as the poems were intended not for reading but for reciting, those plans must have had some regard to the practical conditions of public recitation. But of those conditions we know nothing, and I do not see how we can determine the powers of endurance of an Ionian audience. Obvious of course it is that the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey* cannot have been recited from beginning to end without intervals; the audience must have dispersed and returned more than once; but we cannot know *a priori* how often. It appears to me that Mr.

<sup>15</sup> *Das fünfte Buch der Ilias*, 1913.

Drerup has started from the wrong end. He argues for the assumption that the length of the single recitation or *ῥαψωδία* varied from about 600 to 1000 verses, because he finds a number of parts which seem to be, relatively, self-contained (like E, I, K, Ψ, Ω), varying roughly between these limits. On this assumption he bases his schemes, and divides the *Odyssey* into fifteen and the *Iliad* into eighteen such *ῥαψωδίαι*, which he then proceeds to combine into larger unities and arrange symmetrically. In a great many cases the divisions which he has thus determined correspond to natural pauses in the story, points at which the reciter might conveniently stop for a few minutes to give himself and his audience a rest. But these pauses differ greatly in value: while some mark important stages in the development of the plot, some have little significance and might easily be replaced by others, if it were not for numerical considerations. Nor do all Mr. Drerup's rhapsodies correspond to the definition of a rhapsody with which he sets out, as an *ἀπόκομμα* of an epic, ἔχον ἐν ἑαυτῷ ὀλίγην καὶ μικρὰν καὶ λεπτήν τινα περιπέτειαν.<sup>16</sup> This definition, given by a scholiast, and the similar definition of Dionysius Thrax, do not mean that an epic poem was composed throughout of such rhapsodies, but only that any part of an epic which was a more or less self-contained story and had its own *περιπέτεια* was called a rhapsody, evidently because it could be taken out and recited separately. The last Book of the *Iliad* and the Doloneia are obvious examples of the rhapsody. But it does not follow that the *Iliad* was built up of rhapsodies, or the *Odyssey*; and it does not follow that Mr. Drerup's sections are the basic units in the composition of the poems. They may mean something as subdivisions, and some of them no doubt do.

The only method by which we have some chance of reaching a probable result seems to be quite different. We must start from the argument of the poem as a whole, and find the divisions into which it naturally falls. In the case of the *Odyssey*, of which the construction is simpler than that of the *Iliad*, the first step is plain. Nothing can well be clearer than that it falls into two Parts, and that Part I. ends at ν 92. The poet emphatically marks the close by echoing the lines of the opening:

ὥς ἡ ῥίμφα θέουσα θαλάσσης κύματ' ἔταμνε  
 ἄνδρα φέρουσα θεοῖς ἐναλίγκια μῆδε' ἔχοντα  
 ὃς πρὶν μὲν μάλα πολλὰ πάθ' ἄλγεα ὃν κατὰ θυμόν  
 κ.τ.λ.

ν 92 is, as a matter of course, the ending of one of Mr. Drerup's 'rhapsodies,'—the eighth, which his scheme designates as the central piece of the poem, on either side of which six others are symmetrically grouped. But in point of contents it has no special title to a central position. It is not a connecting link in any more eminent sense than is implied in the obvious facts that the conclusion of the first part of any composition must immediately precede the second, and that when the second part is a little shorter than the first, the conclusion of the first must occupy the middle. The *Odyssey* falls into two

<sup>16</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 57.

Parts, and Part I. (6255 vv.) is longer than Part II. (5742 vv.); <sup>17</sup> that is the fact from which we must start.

In Part I. we have a well-defined, unmistakable division at the end of  $\delta$ , where the continuity is broken by the transition from Ithaca to the island of Calypso, from the adventures of Telemachus to the adventures of Odysseus. Again, we have a well-defined section in the long tale of his wanderings which Odysseus tells the Phaeacians. As there is no change of scene (as at  $\nu$  93 or the beginning of  $\epsilon$ ) for the persons of the story, though there is for the audience, the beginning of this section is not so sharply marked. We may possibly find it at  $\theta$  469-470 (where one of Mr. Drerup's rhapsodies begins) or at the beginning of  $\iota$ . Thus we should obtain three large sections in Part I. :

(1)  $\alpha$ - $\delta$  = 2207 vv. (2)  $\epsilon$ - $\theta$  469 = 1633 vv. (3)  $\theta$  470- $\nu$  92 = 2415 vv.

In Part II. the story is continuous, and the sections do not fall apart of themselves as in Part I. But there are two important points in the story, the points that mark the most distinct stages in the development of the plot, namely, at the beginning of  $\pi$ , where Telemachus reaches the hut of Eumaeus, and at the beginning of  $\phi$ , where Penelope, at the inspiration of Athene, proposes the  $\tau\acute{o}\xi\omicron\nu$   $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\iota\varsigma$  which leads up to the *dénouement*. If the story of Part II. were dramatised, these appear to me to be the points at which divisions between Acts would most naturally fall. If I am right, we have three main sections in Part II. :

(1)  $\nu$  93- $\sigma$ , 1512 vv. (2)  $\pi$ - $\nu$  2493 vv. (3)  $\phi$ - $\omega$  1838 vv.

The whole poem thus falls into two Parts, and each Part into three sections; and in point of length these six sections may be divided into two classes: one, which we may denote by A, ranging above 2100 lines, and the other B, between 1500 and 1840 (taking  $\psi$  and  $\omega$  as they stand in the text). From this point of view the result is symmetrical :

ABA      BAB.

This result has been reached by considerations which are entirely independent of any presuppositions as to the conditions of the rhapsodic performances. It is now legitimate to ask, was there a relation between these sections and the actual performances, as designed by Homer? It may be conjectured that the section was designed to correspond to a sitting, and that the *Odyssey* was meant by the poet to be recited at six sittings, the audience dispersing at the end of each. These sittings were not all of the same length; some might last, say, for three hours more or less, others for four hours more or less, and in the case of the *Odyssey* Homer made the longer and shorter alternate. Pauses

<sup>17</sup> The length of Part II. in the common text is 5805 vv. I have omitted 63 as interpolations—generally recognised as such. In regard to the two passages about the removal of the arms into the  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$ , I have not followed Zenodotus in athetising  $\pi$  281-298, nor Kirchhoff in rejecting  $\tau$  4-52, nor Monro in rejecting

both passages. My view is that the second passage is entirely genuine, and that in the first some verses have been interpolated, viz. 281-283 and 286-296. But I have not included them in the list of interpolations I have allowed for in counting the verses of the *Odyssey*. In Part I. I have omitted forty-eight verses.

in the course of each performance would be a matter of course, and such pauses may in many cases correspond to the breaks between Mr. Drerup's 'rhapsodies.' But it is not necessary, for the present purpose, to enter into the question of subdivisions.<sup>18</sup>

The *Iliad* is more difficult. It does not fall of itself into two Parts, like the *Odyssey*; its construction, obviously, is quite different. I may consider it briefly, as it is relevant to see whether the two types A and B can be found in it, but the following suggestions are made with considerable hesitation.<sup>19</sup> Two points stand out conspicuously as marking stages in the development of the plot. One is where Patroclus persuades Achilles to let him lead the Myrmidons into battle, at the beginning of Book XVI. This is the definite beginning of the *dénouement*. The other is the repulse of the overtures of Agamemnon by Achilles, Book IX. It is not till Book VIII. that Zeus begins seriously to perform his promise to Thetis by commanding the gods not to intervene. The situation in this Book is that the Greeks, who have fenced themselves in with wall and trench, are thoroughly alarmed and Hector is confident. It ends with the picture of the camp-fires of the Trojans lighting up the plain, like stars, in the night. ὥς οἱ μὲν Τρῶες φυλακὰς ἔχον (I. 1). After the vain effort to conciliate Achilles, the consequences of the μῆνις are slowly developed through the following Books, till at the end of Book XV. it is not the camp-fires in the distance that the Achaeans see, but fire in the hands of Hector and his army for the burning of their ships. That these fires correspond—that the πυρὰ πολλὰ of Θ portend the threat which at the end of O is about to be realised—is indicated by Homer by a remarkable device. In Θ 555 the camp-fires are likened to stars in a striking simile :

ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἐν οὐρανῷ ἄστρα φαεινὴν ἀμφὶ σελήνην  
φαίνεται ἄριπρεπέα ὅτε τ' ἔπλετο νήνεμος αἰθήρ  
556 ἔκ τ' ἔφανεν πᾶσαι σκοπιαὶ καὶ πρόωνες ἄκροι  
καὶ νάπαι· οὐρανόθεν δ' ἄρ' ὑπερράγη ἄσπετος αἰθήρ,  
πάντα δὲ εἶδεται ἄστρα γέγηθε δέ τε φρένα ποιμήν.

When the fire which is catching the ships is extinguished by the efforts of Patroclus, the relief of the Greeks is illustrated by another simile, II. 297, in which two of these verses are repeated :

ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἀφ' ὑψηλῆς κορυφῆς ὄρεος μεγάλου  
κινήσῃ πυκινὴν νεφέλην στεροπηγερέτα Ζεὺς,  
299 ἔκ τ' ἔφανεν πᾶσαι σκοπιαὶ καὶ πρόωνες ἄκροι  
καὶ νάπαι· οὐρανόθεν δ' ἄρ' ὑπερράγη ἄσπετος αἰθήρ.

It is perverse to follow the Alexandrian critics in supposing that these two lines were gratuitously introduced into Θ from II by some foolish interpolator.

<sup>18</sup> I may say that Mr. Drerup's 'rhapsodies' (which were independently determined by Mr. Adcock) seem to be satisfactory as subdivisions in Part I. If I were seeking for convenient intervals of five minutes in Part II., I think I should divide thus :  
ν 93-ξ; ο; π-ρ 327; ρ 328-τ 50; τ 50-υ;

φχ; ψω. I have not seen Mr. Stürmer's book, *Die Rhapsodien der Odyssee*, 1921.

<sup>19</sup> Mr. Sheppard has just put forward a very different arrangement, in a paper read before the Cambridge Philological Society (*Cambridge University Reporter*, May 23, 1922, p. 1005).

The repetition was designed by the poet as a pointer to the parallel between the later and the earlier situation. In both crises recourse was had to Achilles. In the first case, when the peril of the Achaeans was only grave, he refused; in the second, when it was desperate, he gave way so far as to save the situation.

The *Iliad* therefore appears to fall into three Parts, of which the lengths are: Part I., 4946 (4977) vv.; Part II., 4596 (4622) vv.; Part III., 5947 (5999) vv.

The sections into which Part III. naturally falls are three, and can hardly be mistaken:

(1) ΠΠ, (2) Σ-X, (3) ΨΩ.

In Part I. there seems to be one pretty clear division at the beginning of Γ where the fighting begins, and a second might be found at Z 237, where the scene, which had twice shifted for a few minutes from the plain to Troy in Γ, is now removed again to the city for a much longer time.

In Part II., the *τειχομαχία* in M seems to be the central scene of the long battle, and suggests a division into two sections. We might find the line of division between Λ and M, or else within M, perhaps at 194 just before the portent of the eagle and snake and Hector's disastrous rejection of the advice of Polydamas. The precise point does not matter much for the present purpose.

The whole scheme would then be:

Part I. (1) AB,<sup>20</sup> 1480 vv. (2) Γ-Z 236, 2142 vv. (3) Z 237-Θ 1320 vv.

Part II. (1) I-Λ 2135 vv. (2) M-O 2555 vv.

or (1) I-M 194 2229 vv. (2) M 195-O 2361 vv.

Part III. (1) ΠΠ 1623 vv. (2) Σ-X 2638 vv. (3) ΨΩ 1694 vv.

These eight sections correspond in point of length to the two types we found in the *Odyssey*, the longer varying here between 2640 and 2140, the shorter between 1700 and 1320, and the arrangement is symmetrical, though different from that of the *Odyssey*:

BAB      AA      BAB

The average length of the As is to that of the Bs about as 3 to 2; but the difference between the longest and the shortest B (518 vv.) is greater than the difference between the longest and the shortest A (496 vv.).

Now the longest of all the B sections is that which includes the end of the *Odyssey*, and the excessive length (1838, 144 lines above the next longest) might raise a certain presumption that the end of the poem is not right as it stands. But on the view that it ends at ψ 296, omitting, as we must, the six lines ψ 241-246, the length of the section would be 1208 lines, diverging far in the opposite direction. Thus so far as numerical considerations may be allowed to have any weight, they confirm on the one hand the conclusion that ψ 296 was not the

<sup>20</sup> Mr. Drerup's idea that the latter part of B (484 to end) was not a part of the poem, but a sort of excursus or appendix, is to

me unintelligible. Mr. Sheppard (*loc. cit.*) regards the Catalogue, the Doloneia, and the Shield (in ζ) as "interludes."



end of the poem as Homer designed it, and on the other hand suggest that the present conclusion  $\psi$  297- $\omega$  548 may be too long. By the omission of the unnecessary and indubitably unhomeric passage  $\psi$  310-343, the 1838 vv. of the last section are reduced to 1804, and if we assume 1700 as the limit for B sections, the inference is that Homer would himself have done the psychostasia in not more than 100 verses. It would have been ample.

Little stress, however, can be laid on this argument. The penultimate section in the *Iliad* is considerably longer than all the other A sections, and the same kind of reasoning might be employed to prove that it contains a considerable interpolation. The whole question of the composition and structure of the epics, as affected by the conditions of recitation, is too speculative to justify any one in building much on a particular scheme. On the scheme which I have hazarded, the numerical facts are rather adverse to the theory that the poem ended at  $\psi$  296, while they rather favour a theory which would curtail the ending by 140 lines or more. The result is not of much importance; so far as it goes, it suggests that the theory advocated here is not inconsistent with the construction of the poem.

It would not be surprising to find that the balance of the poem, resulting from a symmetrical arrangement of the parts, was reinforced by harmonies and correspondences, parallelisms and contrasts. Now, with the exception of the excursion to the Peloponnesus and the brief scenes in Ogygia and on the waters of the high seas, the action of the *Odyssey* passes in two lands, Ithaca and Phaeacia. The purpose of the Phaeacian episode (which occupies about a third of the poem) is to provide the scene for telling the story of the earlier adventures of the hero; that is its purpose in the construction of the plot; but it is remarkable how long the poet lingers over the tranquil life of the Phaeacians. Nearly 1400 verses are devoted to the experiences of Odysseus in their land. I suggest that besides its function in the plot, Phaeacia has another value, in presenting a parallel and contrast with Ithaca. The country of the Phaeacians is a sort of 'earthly paradise,' and this privileged people, who though not divine yet are near to the gods (*σφισιν ἐγγύθεν εἰμέν, η* 202), lead a life of unbroken enjoyment which resembles, but in a sublimated form, the life which the suitors, those idle men of pleasure, lead in Ithaca. And Homer makes us feel what a restful and happy life Odysseus might have enjoyed in Phaeacia, where he had at last reached safety, if he had married Nausicaa and been able to dismiss Ithaca from his thoughts. He could not forget Ithaca, he was wild for home, though it was to mean toil and care and weariness in a land in which, however good, men did not live easily like gods. Laertes seems to have been a successful gardener, but his garden did not grow like the garden of Alcinous. In Phaeacia Odysseus arrived naked, and was clad in fair raiment by a king's daughter and feasted sumptuously in a royal palace. In Ithaca he arrives in this goodly apparel, but the first thing he has to do is to change into the guise and rags of an old beggar and his first meal is the fare of slaves in a poor hut.

Such a contrast was, I think, in the mind of Homer, and I think he devised minor incidents to call attention to it. One of the Phaeacian chieftains,

Euryalus, is so ill-mannered as to attempt to 'rag' the guest. Odysseus is provoked and rebukes him sharply :

ξείν', οὐ καλὸν εἶπες· ἀτασθαλῶ ἀνδρὶ ἔοικας.

Euryalus has just a little of the spirit of the suitors, for whose conduct *ἀτασθαλίας* is the word that is repeatedly used. But when Odysseus has given an exhibition of his power, at which Athene assists (*θ* 193), and established his prowess as an athlete, Euryalus makes amends and presents him with his sword. Now one of the incidents which display the *ἀτασθαλίας* of the suitors is when Antinous refuses to give a dole of meat to Odysseus and then hurls a stool at him. But when Odysseus smashes Irus, Athene again assisting (*σ* 69), Antinous, in recognition of his victory, makes some amends by giving him a large *γαστήρ*. And it is to be noticed that when the incident in Phaeacia gives Odysseus occasion to describe his athletic accomplishments, it is on his skill in archery (*θ* 215-228) that he enlarges. This is, no doubt, intended to be remembered when we come to the ordeal of the bow in *φ*. Again, the exciting moment when Odysseus discloses his identity to the Phaeacians, who do not suspect that they are entertaining such a far-famed hero (*ι* 19), corresponds to the great moment when he reveals who he is to the unsuspecting suitors (*χ* 35).

If these incidents, signalling across the intermediate reaches of the poem, are not accidents, but a feature of Homeric technique, the conclusion, arrived at above on other grounds, that a visit to the world of shades in the final section was a part of Homer's design would be supported. A *nekyia* in the last section of Part II. would be the counterpoise to the *nekyia* in the last section of Part I.<sup>21</sup>

J. B. BURY.

<sup>21</sup> It is obvious in any theory that the author of the second *nekyia* had the first *nekyia* in his mind. *E. g.* *ψ* 20-22 = *λ* 387-9,

a repetition which is quite Homeric and illustrates, in my view, the disciple's knowledge of Homer's method.

## A GREEK MANUSCRIPT DESCRIBING THE SIEGE OF VIENNA BY THE TURKS IN 1683

I THINK that those who take an interest in the history of the modern Greek language may possibly welcome a short note on a manuscript in the British Museum, which appears to me to be worth some attention, chiefly perhaps from the point of view of the part played by Greek culture in Roumania in the seventeenth century.

The manuscript in question is Add. MS. 38890 in the Department of Manuscripts,<sup>1</sup> British Museum. It was acquired at Hodgson's sale, June 25, 1914, Lot 413, and is from the collection of the Hon. Frederic North, but was later in the possession of Richard Taylor. It is well written and presents but few difficulties of decipherment, and the number of errors is comparatively small. At the end the date of completion is given, viz. December 1686, and the place of writing—Bucharest.

I think the general character of the MS. will be best explained by the reproduction of the short preface prefixed to it. I give it here, together with a translation. The pages and lines are those of the MS., and spelling, punctuation and abbreviations are reproduced as they stand, though I have not adhered to the very fluctuating use of the acute and grave accents.

### 2

Γαλυνώτατε, εὐσεβέστατε, καὶ κρῦτιστε ἡγεμῶν, πάσης  
οὐγκροβλαχίας, κύριε, κύριε, ἰωάννη, σερβάνε βοηδόνα,  
καντακουζηνέ, ἔντεινε καὶ κατ' εὐδοοῦ, ἔνεκεν τῆς τῶν  
χνῶ'ν πίστεως.

Ἐκ προτροπῆς τοῦ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτου σας ἀνεψιοῦ, καὶ πρωτοσπα- 5  
θαρίου, κυρίου κωνσταντίνου μπρακοβάνου, τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον  
ἀπὸ τὴν ἰταλικήν, εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν τῶν γραικῶν ἀπλὴν διάλεκτον  
πιστὰ ἐμεταγλώττησα, τὸ ὅποιον ἄλλον δὲν περιέχει, παρὰ μίαν ἀν-  
καὶ σύντομον, ἀλλὰ ἀληθεστάτην καὶ καθαρὰν ἱστορίαν τοῦ ἀπό-  
κλεισμοῦ τῆς περιφήμου πόλεως βιέννας, ἀπὸ τοὺς κατὰ πάντα ἀπίστους 10  
καὶ ἀθέους μουσουλμάνους, συλλογιζόμενος τὸ λοιπόν, τίνος νὰ ἀφιε-  
ρώσω τοῦτον μου τὸν κόπον, διὰ νὰ ἔχει περισσοτέραν τιμὴν, σιμὰ  
εἰς τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας, ἄλλο δὲν ἐδιάλεξα παρὰ τὸ σεβαστόν σας ὄνομα,  
τὸ ὅποιον ἡ χριστιανικὴ καὶ βασιλικὴ σας διαγωγὴ, τόσον λαμπρὸν  
καὶ χαριτωμένον τὸ ἐκήρυξεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ὅπου ὅλοι σχεδὸν τὸ εὐ- 15  
φημίζουν, καὶ σέβονται.

<sup>1</sup> I have to express my thanks to Mr. J. P. Gilson and Mr. H. I. Bell of the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum, for drawing my attention to this manuscript.

Πολλὰ παραδείγματα ἄξια στοχασμοῦ, καὶ μυμήσεως διαλαμβάνει  
 ἡ ἱστορία, καὶ ἀφήνωντας τὴν ἀήττητον ἀνδρείαν τῶν στρατάρχων ἰω-  
 ἄννου ῥηγὸς τῆς λεχίας, καὶ τοῦ δονκὸς λωρένας τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ  
 καὶ ἀξιοπρεπεστάτου λοταρύγκου, στοχάσου ἡ γαλυνότης σου, καὶ θαύ-  
 μασε τὴν δεδοξασμένην πρόνοιαν τοῦ θυ', ἡ ὁποία μὴν ὑποφέρωντας 5  
 πλέον τὴν σκληροτάτην, καὶ διαβολικὴν τυραννοίαν, ὅπου κατὰ τῶν-  
 εὔσεβων τόσους χρόνους ἔδειξεν, ἡ ἀπαῖνία τῶν ἀγαρηνῶν, ἔξαφνα, καὶ  
 παρελπίδα ἐξύπνησε εἰς ταῖς καρδίαις ὁλονῶν τῶν χυῶν βασιλέων, πᾶ-  
 τα ὀργῆς, διὰ τὰ συκωθοῦν ὅλοι συμφώνως μὲ τὴν δύναμιν στρῶν, τὰ  
 συντρίψουν τὴν φαρμακερὴν κεφαλὴν τῶν τυραννοῦντων ἀγαρηνῶν, 10  
 καὶ ἰδοὺ ὅπου βοηθεία, καὶ νεύσει τῆς αὐτῆς θείας προνοίας, κείμεται  
 θέαμα ἐλεηρὸν, ὁ ὑπερίφανος, ἀπὸ κάτω ἀπὸ τὰ ὀνύχια τῶν εὔσεβων,  
 καὶ κινδυνεύει τὰ ψωφήσῃ παντάπασι· ἀλλὰ, παρακαλῶ, δὲν εἶναι καὶ  
 ὁ σερβάνος βοηθόνδας, καὶ υἱὸς βασιλέων, καὶ ἂν εἰς παρὰ μικρὰν ἐπαρ-  
 χεῖαν αὐθέντης, καὶ βασιλεὺς; ναὶ βέβαια μὲ τὸ ἔλεος τοῦ θυ'· ἄς μυ- 15  
 μῆθῃ τὸ λοιπόν, καὶ ἄς λάβῃ τὸν ζῆλον τῶν προγόνων τῆς, διὰ τὰ διαφεν-  
 τεύσῃ ὅταν καλέσῃ ὁ καιρὸς, τὴν χριστιανωσύνην, ἄς μὴν δειλιάσῃ, ἄς μὴν  
 φοβηθῇ, διατί, τοῦ θυ' εἶναι ἡ νεῦσις, καὶ ἡ προτροπή, ὅπου μὲ φανερά  
 σημεῖα φωνάζει, καθὼς ἐνάν καιρὸν τοῦ μουσέως, τοῦ ἰησοῦ τοῦ ναυί',  
 τοῦ γεδεῶν, τοῦ δαβίδ, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐγείρεσθε ἰδοὺ γὰρ δέδωκα 20  
 τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἡμῶν, εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ὑμῶν, μὴ φείσεσθε αὐτῶν, οὕτως ἐλπίζω  
 καὶ ἐγώ, καὶ ὅλον τὸ ταλαίπωρον καὶ κατασκλαβωμένον, γένος τῶν-  
 ρωμαίων, τὰ ἰσχύσῃ ὁ θς ἕως τέλους τὴν γαλυνότητά σου, καὶ ὅλην  
 τὴν χριστιανωσύνην, διὰ τὰ προσκυνῆται ἐν μιᾷ θεότητι, ὁ πῆρ,  
 ὁ υἱός, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πᾶν, ἡ ἀγία καὶ προσκυνητὴ τριάς, εἰς τὴν ὁποίαν 25  
 δεόμενος ἐγώ, τῆς γαλυνότητός σου, εὐτυχεῖαν, μακροήμερευσιν, καὶ νί-  
 κην κατὰ τῶν ὀρατῶν, καὶ ἀοράτων ἐχθρῶν, ἀσπάζομαι τὴν-  
 ἄκρην τῆς σεβαστῆς σας πορφύρας, καὶ ὑπογράφομαι  
 δοῦλος εὐτελεῖς καὶ εὐχέτης θερμότητος  
 Ἰερεμίας κακαβέλας ὁ ἱεροκήρυξ. 30

'Most Serene, Pious and Mighty Ruler of all Ugro-Wallachia, Lord John, Voivode, Servan Cantacuzenos, be strong and prosper in thy way on behalf of the Christian faith.

'At the instance of thy most illustrious nephew and protospatharios, Lord Constantine Bracovanos, I have translated the present little book from the Italian faithfully into our simple Greek dialect. It contains nothing but a brief, though perfectly true and clear account of the siege of the famous city of Vienna by the utterly treacherous and godless Mussulmans. So on considering to whom I should dedicate this work of mine that it may have the more honour in the eyes of the readers, I chose none other than your revered name, which your Christian and Royal bearing<sup>2</sup> has proclaimed as so brilliant and gracious to the world, that nearly all acclaim and revere it.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the description of Servan Cantacuzenos in MS. No. 886 in the Hofbibliothek at Vienna (quoted by Hammer, *Gesch. d. osm. Reiches*, vi. (1830), p. 403, n.): 'In

'History treats of many examples worthy of reflection and imitation, and leaving aside the invincible courage of the generals John, king of Poland, and the wonderful and brilliant Duke of Lorraine, your Serenity should reflect upon and marvel at the glorious providence of God, which, no longer suffering that most harsh and diabolic tyranny which the Hagarenes in their inhumanity showed for so many years against the god-fearing, suddenly and unexpectedly aroused in the hearts of all the Christian kings the spirit of anger, that they should all with one accord arise in the power of the Cross to crush the poisonous head of the tyrant Hagarenes, and lo ! with the help and at the beck of the same divine Providence, the proud lies low, a piteous sight, beneath the talons of the pious, and seemeth ready to perish altogether. But, I ask, is not Servan also a Voivode and a son of kings, yea, and a king to boot, even though he be lord over but a very small province ? Yes, verily, by the mercy of God. Let him imitate, therefore, and take up the zeal of his forefathers, that when the time summons he may champion Christendom ; let him not shrink, let him not fear, for the bidding is the Lord's, and the exhortation, which calls with clear signs, even as once to Moses, Joshua the son of Nun, Gideon, David and the others : Rise up, for, lo ! I have delivered our enemies into your hands, spare them not. Even so it is my hope, and the hope of all the hapless and enslaved race of the Romans, that God may strengthen your Serenity to the end and all Christendom, that the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, the holy and worshipful Trinity, may be adored in one Godhead. To which Trinity I pray on behalf of your Serenity for success, length of days and victory over your foes visible and invisible, and kiss the hem of your revered purple, and subscribe myself

'Your humble servant and fervent well-wisher

'JEREMIAS CACAVELAS THE PREACHER.'

I think we may be confident that this translation made by Cacavelas was never printed. It is nowhere mentioned in the accounts of Jeremias Cacavelas and his work, to which I now pass.

Jeremias Cacavelas,<sup>3</sup> the translator of this monograph, was born in Crete.<sup>4</sup> He became a monk, and in his zeal for learning travelled widely. He visited Asia Minor, and afterwards went to Leipzig, where he became acquainted with the teachers, and in particular with John Olearios, Professor of Greek. From Leipzig he went to Vienna, and from there wrote in 1670 a letter to Olearios signed 'Ιερεμίας ὁ Ἕλλην διδάσκαλος τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας. This letter was printed by Olearios in his notes to the Chronicle of Philip of Cyprus. The present MS. shows that Cacavelas was at Bucharest in 1686.

Valachia il principe moderno Serbano e uomo di gran spirito, potente e ricco per se stesso, amato dai Bojari e Grandi, ha gran parentela, due fratelli . . . ha molti nepoti esperti, fra l'altri il Conte Brancovano che fu spesso Generale di queste provincie, persona di gran talenti.'

<sup>3</sup> Sathas, *Νεοελληνικὴ φιλολογία*, 1868, p. 383 f.; Xénopol, *Hist. des Roumains*,

ii. 162, 173; Gröber, *Grundriss der rom. Philologie*, ii. 3, pp. 278, 283, 313, 393.

<sup>4</sup> I may mention that Prof. R. M. Dawkins, who has been kind enough to go through my copy of the MS. with me, noted certain forms and turns of expression as Cretan before he knew that the translator came from that island.

## GREEK MANUSCRIPT DESCRIBING THE SIEGE OF VIENNA 19

Later he moved to Jassy, where he is mentioned as Professor in the *Αὑθεντικὴ Ἀκαδημία* in 1698.

His residence in Wallachia brought him into contact with its subject prince. The translation is dedicated to Servan Cantacuzenos, Voivode of Wallachia (1679-1688), who was compelled to serve with the Turks in the siege of Vienna in 1683. In that campaign the Wallachians and Moldavians were not trusted to fight, but were employed in cutting timber<sup>5</sup> and in bridging-work, it may be said, which appears to have been done very unwillingly and ineffectually.<sup>6</sup> Indeed the inefficiency of the Turkish bridges over the Danube seems to have contributed materially to the success of the relieving force. Servan Cantacuzenos left behind him a memorial of his devotion to Christianity in the form of an inscribed wooden cross.<sup>7</sup>

Constantine Brancovanos, called in our MS. Bracovanos, who succeeded his uncle Servan Cantacuzenos, is regarded as one of the most remarkable figures in Roumanian history. Something more will be said about him later on. Here it should be pointed out that one of his chief merits is to have reorganised and greatly enlarged the Greek school founded by his predecessor. I quote Xenopol on the subject of this school.<sup>8</sup>

'The first systematic organisation of public instruction in Greek was carried out in Wallachia by the Roumanian prince Scherban (Servan) Cantacuzenos. Though this prince scarcely had love for the Greeks and his policy towards them was even hostile, he nevertheless recognised the superiority of their culture, a thing which is the less surprising since then, as to-day, there was the same confusion between the modern Greeks and their celebrated ancestors. Del Chiaro tells us "that Scherban Cantacuzenos greatly favoured the development of teaching by giving splendid salaries to the Professors of the Greek language who taught grammar, rhetoric and philosophy to the children of the nobles." Scherban Cantacuzenos was the first to found a Greek school at Bucharest.'

We can thus understand why Cacavelas migrated from Vienna to Bucharest, and why Brancovanos prompted him to make the present translation. The appropriateness of its dedication to Servan also becomes clear. The fact is that Greek culture had been transferred from Greece proper to Wallachia and Moldavia. We know that Greek printing presses were set up both at Bucharest and Jassy.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> See a letter of Georg Chr. von Kunitz dated July 22, 1683: 'Der Fürst aus Walachei (Fürst Cantacuzene) ist mit seiner Mannschaft beschäftigt, Hals über Kopf Bauholz zuzuführen, welches er alles in dem Wäldlein bei Schönbrunn schlagen und nach Wien ins Lager führen lässt; dieses, glaube ich, will man zu den Minen gebrauchen.' (Quoted by Camesina, *Wiens Bedrängniss im Jahre 1683*, p. 25, n. 6). Kunitz, who was Imperial Agent at Constantinople, was at the time a prisoner in the Turkish camp. See also Hammer, *Gesch. d. osm. Reiches*, vi. (1830), p. 403, n.

<sup>6</sup> Xénopol, p. 73: 'Si les princes roumains, qui sympathisaient avec les chrétiens, ne leur fussent venus en aide en diverses occasions, au péril de leurs têtes, il est très probable que la ville n'aurait pu attendre le secours que lui amenait le roi de Pologne.'

<sup>7</sup> Klopp, *Das Jahr 1683*, p. 237 ff.; Camesina, *op. cit.*, p. 134 f.

<sup>8</sup> Xénopol, ii. 173 ff.

<sup>9</sup> More will be found on the subject of Greek culture in Roumania in Xénopol's *Istoria Rumînilor din Dacia Traiană*, Vol. IV. p. 640 ff.

Besides the letter to Olearios mentioned above, the only work of Cacavelas previously printed is a translation of Platina's *De vita summorum pontificum* made by order of Brancovanos in 1689 and a few poems.<sup>10</sup> He knew Greek, Latin, Hebrew and Italian, and was a noted preacher of the Gospel. This accounts for his present translation from the Italian, and also for his description of himself as *Ἱεροκέρυξ*. His residence at Vienna will have made him specially interested in the siege, though I think it is clear that he himself was not present at it.

Later on Cacavelas migrated to the court of Constantine Cantemir in Moldavia, and taught Constantine's son Demetrios. In this connexion it is worth while to consider in somewhat greater detail the situation of these subject princes of Wallachia and Moldavia.

Their position was one of peculiar difficulty, since they formed as it were a buffer between the German and Turkish empires.<sup>11</sup> Even after the defeat of the Turks before Vienna in 1683, Servan Cantacuzenos was not able to declare openly for the Emperor Leopold, in spite of the proofs of his leanings which he had given during the siege. After the great Imperial victory over the Turks at the battle of Harkány, near Mohács, in 1687, the Emperor sent a letter to Servan inviting him to join the Imperial side, and as a result the Voivode collected a considerable army with a view to adopting this policy. The Emperor held out various inducements, promising to recognise the right of the Cantacuzene family to the throne of Wallachia against an annual payment of 75,000 piastres, and even going so far as to offer to make Servan Emperor at Constantinople should the Turks be driven out of Europe. Despite the great skill which the Voivode showed in impressing the Austrians with a belief in his devotion to their cause, while at the same time lulling the suspicions of the Turks, the strong anti-German party at Bucharest (which included his nephew Constantine Brancovanos) brought his efforts to nought, and secured his removal by poison on October 29, 1688.

His successor, Constantine Brancovanos, reigned till 1714. He started as an anti-Imperialist, and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Austrian General Haisler in 1690. But in the next year he reversed his policy. His long reign was a continual effort to placate both Turks and Austrians, and in doing this he showed extreme ability. But in the end he was unable to ward off the fate which constantly threatened him. He was deposed by the Turks, removed to Constantinople and there executed together with his family.

We may now take a brief glance at the careers of the Moldavian princes Constantine Cantemir and his son Demetrios, the latter a pupil of Jeremias Cacavelas. Constantine reigned as Voivode of Moldavia from 1685 to 1693. He showed Turkish leanings, and as a result came after 1691 into collision with Brancovanos. From 1693 to 1711, Nicholas Mavrocordato, a Phanariote Greek, reigned at Jassy and was on terms of intimate friendship with Branco-

<sup>10</sup> Sathas, p. 384: *εὐρηνται καὶ ἡρωελεγεῖα αὐτοῦ ἐπιγράμματα εἰς τόμον Ἀγάπης Δοσιθέου, ἐπιστάσις του ἐκδοθέντ(α).*

Cacavelas also translated the Greek

Liturgy into Roumanian (Gröber, *op. cit.*).

<sup>11</sup> For what follows I am indebted to Xénopol, ii. p. 73 ff.

vanos. He was replaced in 1711 by Demetrios Cantemir,<sup>12</sup> owing to the desire of the Turks to bring about the fall of Brancovanos. But though installed as a pro-Turk, Demetrios was firmly convinced that the power of Turkey was on the wane and went over to the Russians, whose defeat on the Pruth he shared in 1711. It was with great difficulty that Peter the Great secured the personal safety of Demetrios and gave him an asylum in Russia.

Though the historical value of the MS. is not a question which strictly concerns the *Hellenic Journal*, I may perhaps be allowed to say a few words on this subject, especially since I have devoted a good deal of time to reading the contemporary and later literature dealing with the siege.

The Italian original from which Cacavelas made his translation was printed and published, though I shall have something to say on the strange omission of all allusion to it by specialist writers on the history of the siege. I owe my information to the courtesy of Sig. P. Zorzanello of the Biblioteca Nazionale di San Marco, to whom I sent extracts from the MS. His reply leaves no doubt that the original was the following book, a copy of which is in the library of San Marco at Venice.<sup>13</sup> His description of it is as follows:—

‘Ragguaglio historico della Guerra tra l’Armi Cesaree e Ottomane dal principio della Ribellione degl’ Ungari fino l’Anno corrente 1683, e principalmente dell’ Assedio di Vienna e sua Liberazione, con gl’ incominciati progressi delle dette Armi Cesaree e Confederate. All’ Illustriss. & Eccell. Sig. Giulio Giustiniano cavaliere. Venetia, MDCLXXXIII, Presso Gio. Giacomo Hertz’ (in 12°, pp. (xii), 215 e due tavole). These two plates are no doubt the illustrations from which Cacavelas made his two illuminations in the MS., viz. a portrait of the Emperor Leopold I. and a picture of the Turkish flag captured by John Sobieski and sent by him as a present to the Pope, Innocent XI. With regard to the author of the book Sig. Zorzanello supplies me with the following information from the Preface.

‘Due Amici, uno somministrando le migliori notizie, e l’altro impiegandovi l’ordine, l’ornamento e qualche picciola riflessione, hanno condotta al suo fine quest’ opera.’

Sig. Zorzanello then goes on to quote passages from the beginning and end of the book which correspond exactly to those in the MS.

The fact that the MS. is a translation of a published work certainly diminishes the interest of the document from the historical standpoint. Yet it seems to me a matter for surprise that an account, not merely of the details of the actual siege, but also of the general political circumstances from 1660 to October 1683, should, as far as I have been able to ascertain, have been entirely neglected by the specialist writers on the subject. The first edition of the book at all events is not included in Kábdebo’s Bibliography of the two sieges.<sup>14</sup> Nor can I find any allusion to it in the exhaustive works of

<sup>12</sup> See also A. J. Evans in *Encyclopædia Britannica*<sup>9</sup>, Art. ‘Roumania.’ Demetrios in exile wrote a *Descriptio Moldaviae* in Latin.

<sup>13</sup> The book does not appear in the British Museum Catalogue.

<sup>14</sup> Kábdebo (Heinrich), *Bibliographie zur*

*Geschichte der beiden Türkenbelagerungen Wiens*. Vienna, 1876. It would seem, however, that the following work mentioned by Kábdebo in his Supplement (p. 130, No. 339) is a second edition of the book.

‘Ragguaglio della guerra tra l’armi



Camesina<sup>15</sup> and Klopp.<sup>16</sup> There are, however, many indications that early writers on the subject, such as C. Contarini in his *Istoria della guerra di Leopoldo I. contra il Turco* (Venice, 1710), and the author of *Theatrum Europaeum*, Vol. XII. (Frankfurt am Main, 1691), and several others of approximately the same period, used the same sources as the authors of this Italian account of the siege and the circumstances attending it.

In view of this, it may not be out of place briefly to give my impression of the value of the book from the historical standpoint. In the first place it appears rather a remarkable achievement that the work, in spite of its obvious shortcomings presently to be alluded to, should have been printed and published in the same year as the siege, which ended as late as September 12. It is much more than a mere diary of the siege, which is the form taken by most of the works relating to the siege published in 1683. It has the appearance of a political pamphlet put together somewhat hastily by writers who had access to good sources of information, but were so anxious to get the work out quickly that they were betrayed into a good many inaccuracies of detail. The general aim seems to be to foster harmony between the various elements of the Holy Roman Empire and the Poles with a view to the further prosecution of the war against the common enemy, the Turk and his Hungarian allies. Of the two policies open to the Emperor after the defeat of the Turks before Vienna—war with Louis XIV. or the crushing of the Turk—it is clearly the writers' business to recommend the latter. To this end the intrigues of Louis XIV. are almost ignored, as is the friction which existed between the various elements of the relieving force.

It is not surprising, in view of the shortness of the work, that its comprehensiveness is paid for by a good deal of superficiality. The attention given to detail is curiously unequal. One instance may be cited. The forces of the Elector of Saxony are described with considerable minuteness. Those of the Elector of Bavaria are practically ignored. In the case of the Poles the absence of such detail is compensated for by a general description of the elements of which the Polish army is composed.

The inaccuracies alluded to are chiefly those of dates. There is also a tendency to confuse minor military actions. In general, however, the work seems to me to give a clear picture of all the main features of interest (viewed, it is true, from the Imperial standpoint) belonging to the period with which the writers deal. I think that the specialist student would find the identification of the sources used for the work an interesting problem.

The Greek text, which includes many Turkish and other foreign words, should throw fresh light on the history of the Greek language in Roumania.

F. H. MARSHALL.

Cesaree et Ottomane da principio della ribellione degli Ungari sino l'anno corrente 1684, e principalmente dell' assedio di Vienna e sua liberatione con la vittoria di Barcan, aggiuntovi in quest' ultima impressione la presa di Strigonia, molt' altre curiosita. In Venetia, 1684. 4°.

<sup>15</sup> Camesina (Albert), *Wiens Bedrängniss im Jahre 1683* (in *Berichte und Mittheilungen des Altertumsvereines zu Wein*, Vol. VIII., 1865).

<sup>16</sup> Klopp (Onno), *Das Jahr 1683*. Graz, 1882.

## ADDITIONAL NOTE.

Bound up with the MS. are two inscriptions. They are in Roumanian. The first, on p. i at the beginning of the volume, is in Cyrillic character. The following transcriptions have been kindly supplied me by the Museum authorities on the understanding that they are to be regarded as provisional, since there is no expert there in this branch.

‘Alu Kostandin Brankovénu V(oda) Spa(tar), skoasa de Jeremija Kakavela dasculu(l) și egume(nul) Plavicénilo(r) dupe limba francésca pe limba grecésca și scrisa de popa nekula: l(una) noe(mvrie) a(nu)l αχπζ.’

The second inscription, on p. v at the end of the volume, is in both Roman and Cyrillic scripts and reads:

‘Dic(emvrie) 15, 7195 arzintul de la steasca (?) dramar(i) 1217.’

Though there is some uncertainty as to forms, there does not seem any doubt that the following are approximately correct translations:

1. ‘To Constantine Brancovano Voivode and Spatar. Translated by Jeremias Cacavelas, Teacher and Abbot at the monastery of Plaviceni, from Italian into Greek. Written by the Priest Nicholas, November 1687.’

2. ‘December 15, 1687. Payment for the copying (?), Drachmae 1217.’

Mr. L. C. Wharton of the Department of Printed Books, British Museum, has very kindly helped me in the interpretation of these inscriptions.<sup>17</sup>

F. H. M.

<sup>17</sup> I may add that Cacavelas must have been still living in 1714, for he was the author of a historical work on the wars between the Hungarians and the Turks, dedicated to Stephanos Cantacuzenos, who was Voivode of Wallachia, 1714–1716. É. Legrand in his *Épistolaire grecque (Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire, iv., p. xiii. (c))*, mentions the following as included in the Catalogue of the MSS. in the Bibliothèque

du Métoque du Saint-Sépulchre at Constantinople:

Εἰδήσεις ἱστορικὴ ὑπὸ Ἱερεμίου Κακαβέλα ἱεροκέρυκος ἀφιερούντος αὐτὴν εἰς τὸν ἡγεμόνα Οὐγγροβλαχίας Στέφανον Καντακουζηνόν, ἥτις διαλαμβάνει ἱστορίαν πολέμων μεταξὺ Οὐγγρων καὶ Τούρκων· ἄρχεται ἀπὸ τοῦ 1660 ἔτους.

M. Legrand was unable to obtain access to this and other MSS.

## THE 'SERVILE INTERREGNUM' AT ARGOS

OUR evidence for events in Argos after her crushing defeat by Kleomenes at Sepeia (*circ.* 494 B.C.) is so scrappy, incoherent, and to a large extent so late, that accurate reconstruction is well-nigh impossible. But a fresh attempt may at least throw into relief certain points which deserve more consideration than they seem to have received.

If we except the passage in Aristotle, *Pol.* 1303A (the exact significance of which is disputed), our sole authority for the so-called Servile Interregnum is Herodotos, Bk. 6, 83. It is necessary to quote the passage in full.

Ἄργος δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐχρηρώθη οὕτω ὥστε οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτῶν ἔσχον πάντα τὰ πρήγματα ἄρχοντες τε καὶ διέποντες, ἐς ὃ ἐπήβησαν οἱ τῶν ἀπολομένων παῖδες. ἔπειτ' ἐσφασ οὗτοι ἀνακτώμενοι ὀπίσω ἐς ἑωυτοὺς τὸ Ἄργος ἐξέβαλον· ἐξωθεύμενοι δὲ οἱ δοῦλοι μάχῃ ἔσχον Τίρυνθα. τέως μὲν δὴ σφι ἦν ἄρθρια ἐς ἀλλήλους, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐς τοὺς δούλους ἦλθε ἀνὴρ μάντις Κλέανδρος, γένος ἑὼν Φιγαλεὺς ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίας· οὗτος τοὺς δούλους ἀνέγνωσε ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖσι δεσπότησι. ἐκ τούτου δὲ πόλεμος σφι ἦν ἐπὶ χρόνον συχρόν, ἐς ὃ δὴ μόγις οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἐπεκράτησαν·

Dr. Macan<sup>1</sup> infers from this chapter 'the admission of the "slaves" to the franchise.' The wording of the first sentence in the extract may seem to support this inference, but Dr. Macan himself considers the chapter to involve both 'exaggeration and misconception,' and we may later see some considerations that tell against his inference. For myself I can find in Herodotos' account no convincing evidence of the actual and formal enfranchisement of the slaves. On the contrary, they are throughout described as *δοῦλοι*, and the last episode in the narrative is an attack from Tiryns of these *slaves* against their *masters*. Another remarkable point is that until the outbreak of hostilities at the finish, we hear nothing of any actual conflict between the slaves and their Argive owners. The natural presumption is no doubt that the servile upheaval could not fail to be attended by intense friction and even actual fighting; but neither when the slaves first took charge, nor again when they were later expelled, does Herodotos mention any armed conflict. The first battle in which he says the slaves took part is against, not Argos, but rebellious Tiryns. After the expulsion, there is actual concord between masters and slaves; and the subsequent rupture is represented as due to external influences. These points in the story may prove significant.

Plutarch<sup>2</sup> took Herodotos to mean that the slaves were enfranchised,

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Macan's *Hdt.*, 6, 92, note.

δοῦλοις, ἀλλὰ τῶν περιοίκων ποιησάμενοι πολίτας

<sup>2</sup> *Plut., de Mul. Virt.*, 4: Ἐπανορθούμενοι  
δὲ τὴν ὀλιγανδρίαν, οὕχ, ὡς Ἡρόδοτος ἱστορεῖ, τοῖς

τοὺς ἀρίστους, συνέψικαν τὰς γυναῖκας.

and expressly contradicted his alleged statement. But we must repeat that Herodotos does not say that Argos rectified her ὀλιγανδρία by admitting slaves as citizens; his assertion is that Argos had to submit to an unwelcome slave-domination, of which she rid herself as soon as she was able. Plutarch's reference to the enfranchisement of *περίοικοι* will be considered below.

We may safely assume that this servile upheaval, whatever its actual form, occurred practically immediately after the battle of Sepeia, *i. e.* in 494. It will help to give perspective to the problem if we now consider when the slaves' domination was brought to an end by their expulsion from Argos. Busolt<sup>3</sup> thinks that by 481 at least Argos was again in the possession of its former lords, since the embassy from the Panhellenic Congress at the Isthmos finds a king there and the *βουλή* in charge.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, he believes that the slave-supremacy could not have lasted beyond 487, since 'only the old Dorian Argos could have demanded from the Aeginetans and Sikyonians the payment of the fine' imposed on them by Argos, apparently on religious grounds, after Sepeia.<sup>5</sup> But it seems to me impossible to date the expulsion earlier than 478. There were troops from Mycenae and Tiryns at Plataea in 479, apparently a joint contingent of 400 men;<sup>6</sup> these Tirynthians could not have been the expelled Argive slaves, with whom we can scarcely believe Mycenae would willingly co-operate, for while, of course, the Mycenaeans would welcome a close understanding with Tiryns when they both fell away from Argos in or soon after 494, they must have rather felt keen resentment against those *δοῦλοι* who subsequently defeated their Tirynthian friends in battle and seized their town. The slaves' seizure of Tiryns must accordingly be dated subsequent to 479. Again, the Tirynthians' presence at Plataea meant that they accepted Spartan leadership and acknowledged Spartan hegemony—a capital offence in Argos' eyes. There could have been no concord between the slaves at Tiryns and their late owners if the former had already thus openly sided with Argos' most deadly foe. Thirdly, Herodotos is explicit that the expulsion did not take place until the sons of the slain at Sepeia had reached manhood, a process not yet fully completed in 481.<sup>7</sup> On all these grounds I think we cannot date the slaves' expulsion before 478. The considerations urged by Busolt do not meet the arguments just set out against his earlier date, but they do go to strengthen the impression that the aristocratic *βουλή* at Argos was never really dislodged from its position after Kleomenes' victory; in other words, that Sepeia was not followed by a period during which *enfranchised* slaves took absolute charge of the State.

Can we define with any clearness the position of slaves in Argos prior to 494? Unfortunately, our information on this point is of the scantiest. There were doubtless many slaves in the private houses of Argos; we hear of these *οἰκέται* in Thucydides 5, 82. But the lexicographer Pollux mentions also a class of *γυμνήτες*, whom he ranks alongside of the Lacedaimonian Helots

<sup>3</sup> Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.*, 2, p. 564, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> Hdt., 7, 148-9.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 6, 92.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 9, 28.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. the Argive reason for desiring a thirty-years' truce with Sparta. Hdt., 7, 149.

and the Thessalian *πενέσται*.<sup>8</sup> Was there then in Argos, as in Lacedaimon, a class of land-serfs, owned by the State and allotted by it to individual citizens for the cultivation of their estates? Busolt suggests<sup>9</sup> that these *γυμνήτες* may have been poorer citizens who served as light-armed troops, and whose economic and social position, like that of the Hektemoroi in Solonian Athens, was practically that of slaves.<sup>10</sup> We cannot doubt that in a commercial city like Argos there were many poor unprivileged citizens, and that after the great loss of life at Sepeia, they would attain a new value and political importance in the life of their community. But there is no need to reject the valuable morsel of information as to the existence of land-serfs preserved for us by Pollux. Even if the name *γυμνήτες* points to the use of those bearing it as light-armed, that would not prove citizen-status; the Lacedaimonian use of the Helots in this capacity was notorious. I suspect indeed that the existence of these agricultural serfs throws considerable light on the nature of the 'servile interregnum.' Among them there must have been many who had gained their masters' confidence sufficiently to be appointed overseers on the estates, just as on Attic farms a slave might become an *ἐπίτροπος* or an *ἐπιστάτης*.<sup>11</sup> When thousands of these masters were suddenly cut off in battle, leaving only small children at home, who then remained competent to undertake the management of their properties except these slaves? Can we doubt that many estates at once fell practically into the hands of the slaves who lived on them to work them? Even in cases where the overseer or the serfs generally remained loyal to the house they served, the Argive authorities would know that their control over their vassals had now become highly precarious, and that they must walk warily if they wished to avoid open rebellion. The *δοῦλοι* must be placated, or worse might follow. No doubt a spirit of unrest spread rapidly, both in the rural districts and among the domestic slaves in the city itself. But the aristocrats apparently handled a desperate situation with great skill. They succeeded in avoiding an open rupture; and thus the old *βουλή* of the eighty remained at least in nominal charge. They even perhaps avoided any overt or formal act whereby the slaves became legally free or secured citizen status. But they allowed them to behave very much as if they were free; in much of the business of the farms and of the city the co-operation of the slaves had become suddenly indispensable. Some of them even forced their way into the subordinate offices;<sup>12</sup> and in the dangerous years that followed 494 they were no doubt left to believe that their new status would not be questioned. Thus for sixteen anxious years, the Argive aristocrats submitted to a degree of servile domination which, however galling, had to be endured until the boys became men; and Herodotos' chapter is but an exaggerated

<sup>8</sup> Pollux, *Onomastikon*, 3, 83. Μεταξὺ δὲ ἐλευθέρων καὶ δούλων οἱ Λακεδαιμονίων εἰλωτες καὶ Θετταλῶν πενέσται καὶ Κρητῶν κλαῶται καὶ μυῶται καὶ Μαριανδύνων δωροφόροι καὶ Ἀργείων γυμνήτες καὶ Σικυνωτίων κορυνηφόροι.

<sup>9</sup> Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.*, 1, 211 note.

<sup>10</sup> Cp. *Ath. Pol.*, chap. 2. καὶ ἐδούλεον οἱ πένητες τοῖς πλουσίοις κ.τ.λ.

<sup>11</sup> For slaves as 'overseers,' Cp. Xen.,

*Mem.*, 2, 5, 2; 2, 8, 3; and Heitland's comments, *Agricola*, p. 59.

<sup>12</sup> Thus I suggest Herodotos' phrase *ἄρχοντες τε καὶ διέποντες* should be interpreted. Even so, the phrase probably overstates what actually occurred, the exaggeration being due either to Herodotos' source, or to his own misunderstanding of it.

account of this strained and abnormal situation. The aristocrats could not have been altogether bereft of power, or they could never have succeeded so well. They would certainly be much aided by disunion and lack of organisation among the slaves themselves; they would rally the poor and hitherto unprivileged burgesses to their side; and perhaps further strengthened their position by enfranchising members of some of the perioecic cities; probably, too, the Argive women, fearing the indignity of wedlock with their former slaves, gave the *βουλή* support far beyond woman's wont, for they seem to have been well able to assert themselves with vigour in times of crisis.<sup>13</sup>

We have only the most summary account of the expulsion in 478 or thereabouts. The boys, having now grown up, *σφεας ἐξέβαλον*, 'threw the slaves out.' There is no hint of any actual fighting between the two parties at this date, except what is implied in these words; and they do not necessarily imply that the matter came to actual blows. What follows in Herodotos rather suggests that the slaves left Argos after an understanding had been arrived at. For years probably the serfs had been pressing for the regularisation of their position, and they doubtless became most insistent and discontented as the heirs of their dead masters in increasing numbers reached manhood, and threatened to reassert the earlier servile status of their dependants. One thing the Argive councillors must have sought to avoid above all things during this period of humiliation and weakness was an outbreak of open hostilities with their own slaves; and by adroit means we can only guess at, they managed to evade the issue until well after Plataea. Then, because the *βουλή* judged the moment propitious or because the slaves themselves insisted, the matter came to a head. Actual strife was still avoided; but it was made clear to the slaves that the city would not yield their claim to citizenship and was now in a position to maintain that refusal; on the other hand, the disaffected *δοῦλοι* were too numerous and determined to be reduced without a ruinous intestine struggle. An agreement was arrived at. The slaves were to leave Argos, and make an attempt upon rebellious Tiryns. If they succeeded in reducing that fortress, the Argives undertook to recognise them as members of an allied perioecic city. Tiryns, like Mycenae, had been a thorn in Argos' side ever since it had thrown off its allegiance in 494. In concert with Mycenae, it had sent a contingent to Plataea; had recognised Spartan hegemony; and could be used by Sparta to hold Argive pretensions severely in check. Nothing would be more agreeable to Argos than its reduction by a body of slaves who were prepared to recognise Argive leadership; and we need not doubt that if some time between 487 and 481 Argos could spare 1000 volunteers to aid Aegina against Athens,<sup>14</sup> there would be many Argives willing to serve in the same capacity with their expelled slaves against Tiryns. On the other hand, the slaves would gain a new home where they would enjoy all but complete freedom, and an entirely new and higher status relatively to their old masters. This compact was successfully carried out. The slaves fell upon the Tirynthians, defeated them in battle, and took possession of their

<sup>13</sup> Cp. Plutarch, *de Mul. Virt.*, 4; and the women's help in building the Long Walls, Thuc., 5, 82.

<sup>14</sup> Hdt., 6, 92.

city. Thereafter for a term, probably till 473-2, they were at concord with Argos, until seduced from their loyalty by the intrigues of Sparta and the 'prophet' from Phigalia.

It remains to discuss Plutarch's statement, mentioned above, that after Sepeia Argos enfranchised 'the best' of the *περίοικοι*. Plutarch's statement does not stand alone. Aristotle<sup>15</sup> also says that, following on the disaster, the Argives *ἠναγκάσθησαν παραδέξασθαι τῶν περιόικων τινάς*. Pausanias<sup>16</sup> again twice speaks of a *συνοικισμός* during this period, in one reference giving it so large a scale that Busolt<sup>17</sup> thinks his narrative must be exaggerated. Obviously these *περίοικοι* were the members of the Argolid cities which had been reduced under Argive hegemony to the status of subject allies, though information as to the exact details of their condition is wanting. From Herodotos 8, 73, it would seem that they were also known as Orneatae, from the fact that Orneae having been among the first places reduced, its citizens gave their name to a political status; but Dr. Macan suspects that the phrase from which this inference can be made is a gloss. At all events, after Sepeia some of these perioecic cities, notably Mycenae and Tiryns and perhaps others, fell away from their allegiance. Some, however, remained loyal, particularly perhaps Cleonae; and as later in 418 and 415, so perhaps now Orneae was also a staunch centre of Argive influence.<sup>18</sup> Many others no doubt were wavering; and in the circumstances it would have been no surprising thing for Argos to seek to strengthen their loyalty and at the same time to repair her own broken citizen ranks by enfranchising many of their members. This policy need not, and in fact, as I imagine, did not, imply the total dissolution of the favoured communities, and the transplanting of their whole citizen body to Argos. The rebellious towns, Mycenae and Tiryns, were indeed ultimately razed, and their existence as separate communities brought to an end; but in these cases we have evidence<sup>19</sup> as against Pausanias that no enfranchisements took place, but rather only enslavement and expulsion; though we may see below that there were interesting exceptions to this rigorous vengeance in the case of Tiryns. For the other towns mentioned in Pausanias (Hysiae, Orneae, Midea, and the rest) we have no direct evidence that they rebelled at all; I suspect that any or all of these were communities whose loyalty was secured after Sepeia by the enfranchisement of some of their citizens, and a liberal revision of the terms of alliance between them and the hegemonic state of Argos.

<sup>15</sup> Arist., *Pol.*, 1303A.

<sup>16</sup> Paus. 8, 25, 8. 'Ἀνέστησαν δὲ καὶ Τίρυνθιους Ἀργεῖοι, συνοίκους προσλαβεῖν καὶ τὸ Ἄργος ἐπανεξῆσαι θελήσαντες; and 8, 27, 1. 'The Arcadians gathered together at Megalopolis to increase their strength,' ἔτε καὶ Ἀργεῖους ἐπιστάμενοι τὰ μὲν ἔτι παλαιότερα μόνον οὐ κατὰ μίαν ἡμέραν ἐκάστην κινδυνεύοντας ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων παραστῆναι τῷ πολέμῳ, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀνθρώπων πλήθει τὸ Ἄργος ἐπηύξησαν καταλύσαντες, Τίρυνθα καὶ Ἰστιάς τε καὶ Ὀρνεάς καὶ Μυκῆνας καὶ Μίδειαν καὶ εἰ δὴ τι ἄλλο πόλισμα οὐκ ἀξιόλογον ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι ᾗν, τὰ τε ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων

ἀδεέστερα τοῖς Ἀργεῖοις ὑπάρξαντα καὶ ἅμα ἐς τοὺς περιόικους ἰσχὺν γενομένην αὐτοῖς.

<sup>17</sup> Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.*, 3. p. 114 note.

<sup>18</sup> For Cleonae as 'ally' of Argos against (a) rebellious Mycenae (468?), (b) at Tanagra (457), (c) at Mantinea (416), *v.* Strabo 377; inscription quoted in Hill's *Sources*, chap. iii. No. 95, and Thuc., 1, 107; and Thuc., 5, 67. For Orneai, *cp.* Thuc., 5, 67 and 6, 7.

<sup>19</sup> Diod., XI. 65; Ephoros (*apud* Steph. Byz.) *frag.* 98; Strabo, 372-3.

Certainly Orneae is met with later as a separate community<sup>20</sup> in alliance with Argos, and Hysiae<sup>21</sup> seems also to have been in the same condition.

If the reconstruction suggested in this article recaptures at all the essential truth for this period, it involves a sharp distinction between the treatment accorded to the perioecic cities (whose free members would be themselves Dorians), and that dealt out by Argos to her own *γυμνήτες* or agricultural serfs (who would be mainly of pre-Dorian stock); and the racial difference would go far to explain the divergent treatment. We have taken Aristotle's reference in the *Politics* to be to the enfranchisement of members from the subject cities. This is very much the interpretation of Aristotle's passage given by Susemihl and Hicks; but Newman<sup>22</sup> objects on the ground that the word *περίοικοι* in Aristotle never seems to bear a meaning analogous to that which it would bear in any technical discussion of, say, the Lacedaimonian constitution. Newman accordingly takes the Aristotelian *περίοικοι* to be here equivalent to Herodotos' *δοῦλοι*, and consequently infers, like Dr. Macan, that the slaves were actually enfranchised. But in the light of all the evidence, it seems to me far more probable that in this passage Aristotle has simply taken over the word *περίοικοι* which he found in his authority; and that in that authority, whatever it was, *περίοικοι* referred to the inhabitants of the subjected Argolid towns. In that case, the testimony of Aristotle tells rather against any enfranchisement of the *δοῦλοι*, and in favour of the views elaborated above.

Our last task must be to clear up, if we can, when this partial *συννοικισμός* took place. Plutarch's story necessitates the view that it occurred soon after Sepeia, as the enfranchised *περίοικοι* were wedded to the widows of those slain by the Spartan king. On the other hand, Pausanias' reference, to some extent corroborated by Strabo, seems to date it subsequently to the reduction of Tiryns and Mycenae, the former of which was perhaps besieged from 472 to 468, and the latter from 468 to a date after the Helot revolt (464). We can dismiss the date which depends upon the reduction of Mycenae, for the reason given, that other evidence shows that no Mycenaean was granted Argive citizenship. But apart from this, there is no necessary conflict between Plutarch and Pausanias. The policy of enfranchisement may have begun as early as 494 and need not have ceased until after the fall of Tiryns more than twenty years later. It was perhaps most vigorously pursued in the earlier years immediately after the disaster, when most of all it was urgent for Argos to confirm the allegiance of her wavering *περίοικοι*, and to increase her own citizen roll. There was then probably a lull, but the policy was resumed for a moment when Tiryns surrendered. But who were the Tirynthians that were accepted into the Argive register? We can hardly believe that they belonged to the slaves who had gone back on the compact of 478, and had treacherously assailed the city which had connived at their establishment at Tiryns. We have probably here the outcome of a pretty episode of conflicting passions and intrigue. Even in 494, when Tiryns first fell away, there may have been a party loyal to Argos. But the disloyalists prevailed, and placed themselves

<sup>20</sup> Thuc., 5, 67 and 6, 7.

<sup>21</sup> Thuc., 5, 83.

<sup>22</sup> Newman's edition of the *Politics*, Vol. IV. p. 304, note.



under the protection of Sparta, and served with her at Plataea. When the δοῦλοι seized their city in 478, they no doubt expected Spartan succour. But Sparta, preoccupied with other matters, allowed them to be shamefully subdued to a servile domination; and later, about 473, when faced by the formidable insurrection of Tegea and the Arcadians allied with Argos, Sparta even, in her anxiety to create a diversion against Argos and to detach her from the rebels, sent the Phigalian seer and made common cause with the slaves. This base betrayal rankled in the Dorian hearts of those who, having freed Tiryns from Argive control, and having fought alongside Sparta in defence of Greece, found that their only reward was to be abandoned beneath the heel of eject slaves. Many of them must have swung back to loyalty to Argos; and doubtless, during the long siege of the serfs to which Argos had to resort, they gave much aid to the besiegers. Argos, again, would have no mercy for the slaves who had played her false. Thus, when at last the gates of Tiryns were opened, those Dorian περίοικοι who had repented of their post-Sepeian rebellion, became citizens of victorious Argos; while the treacherous slaves were driven out, after the failure of their two great efforts for freedom—first in Argos itself and then in Tiryns—to find a precarious livelihood as fishermen in the mean coastal township of Halieis.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Strabo, 373; Ephoros, *frag.* 98.

## ASKLEPIOS BY BRYAXIS

[Plate I.]

IN the Museum of Alexandria is to be seen a colossal head of fine workmanship which has its face curiously surrounded by rough planes where curly hair would be expected, and where this must have been added originally in coloured plaster<sup>1</sup> (Pl. I. *a*). It has been taken for a head of Sarapis or Zeus, and I must confess I have accepted the former name unsuspectingly, so great is the similitude in style to the various copies of the Sarapis of Bryaxis, of which the Egyptian museums possess several<sup>2</sup> by far exceeding in artistic merits the more generally known head of the Vatican. On the other hand, it reminded me so much of the famous Blacas Asklepios from Melos in the British Museum (Pl. I. *b*) that I did not doubt the likeness went so far as to prove the latter to be another work of Bryaxis.

On further investigation, however, I found that those parts of the hair and beard that have been executed in marble correspond neither lock by lock to the beginning of the curly beard, nor to the bases of the massy curls that overshadow the earnest face of the mysterious Alexandrian deity.

The moustache especially is easy to compare, and is seen to be absolutely different. In the Alexandrian head, though drooping at the ends, it leaves the upper-lip entirely free. Among the copies of Sarapis, the largest and finest, I think, is that from Arsinoë at Caïro<sup>3</sup> (Fig. 1). Here the moustache



FIG. 1.—HEAD OF SARAPIS FROM ARSINOË, CAIRO.

<sup>1</sup> E. Breccia, *Alessandria ad Aegyptum*, p. 203, Fig. 75; Brunn-Bruckmann, Fig. No. 605, p. 3, Abb. 6 (Sieveking); Hauser, *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1906, p. 69; Rubensohn,

*Arch. Anz.*, 1906, p. 134.

<sup>2</sup> Amelung, *Rev. Arch.*, 3, IV. ii. p. 177, Pl. XIV.; *Ausonia*, 1908, p. 115 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Cat. Général*, No. 27432 (Ht. 0.90 m.).

ends in a spiral and, by hiding the corners of the mouth, accentuates the expression of strength of the straight under-lip, so different from the goodness that speaks from the fuller form of the other.

Upon turning to a closer comparison of the Alexandrian and Melian heads, I was surprised to find the greatest similarity where I had failed to find it before. The way the hair borders the forehead is exactly the same, and the little that remains of the hair fits in very well. The half-open mouth particularly is very like, and the surrounding growth of hair on the Egyptian head differs only in so far that the forms are more sharply cut, in a more realistic contrast to the mellower surface of the flesh. On the whole the identity of the types is evident. It merely seems that the Egyptian fragment is everywhere far superior in artistic quality to the famous head from Melos



FIG. 2.—ASKLEPIOS.  
STATUETTE FOUND AT  
EPIDAUROS.

in the modelling of the forehead with its curious swelling at the right temple, and in the deep-laid eyes with their Praxitelean *hygrotes*. Though both works seem to render the same conception, they differ somewhat in the shape of the nose, which is a trifle broader, especially in the nostrils, at Alexandria, though not quite so much perhaps as it seems from the photograph which I have before me, the same as is reproduced in the *Museum Guide*, for it shows less under a different light in the one which Sieveking has reproduced as his Figure 6 in the commentary on a head of Zeus from the Villa Albani.

But on the whole the resemblance is such that we cannot doubt they go back to the same artist; and that this must be Bryaxis seems plain by the similarity of style in these works and the various replicas of his most famous Sarapis, which to my mind is even closer than that which Amelung has noted between the Zeus of Otricoli and the Alexandrian god.<sup>4</sup>

It seems worth while mentioning that this author compares another head (though he does not know where it is) with both the Zeus of Otricoli and the Asklepios from Melos.<sup>5</sup> To me it appears to be nearer to the style of the Mausolos.

Wolters<sup>6</sup> has shown, with ample evidence, that we may know the general form of the statue to which the Melian head belongs, by a series of statuettes found at Epidauros (Fig. 2). He has, however, left open the question by whose hand this was, and where it may have stood.

It seems possible to put forward an acceptable proposition about this locality, now that we feel sure about the artist. Epidauros itself is out of question, since the chryselephantine statue of Thrasymedes was seated, as we know from Pausanias, and we need not dwell on any further difference

<sup>4</sup> *Ausonia*, l.c., p. 115.

<sup>5</sup> l.c., p. 118, Fig. 18.

<sup>6</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, 1892, pp. 3 and 4, Pls. II. and III.

either in ikonography or style. Nor can we find the original which we are looking for in the Asklepios of Bryaxis mentioned by Pausanias, without further detail, at Megara with a Hygieia by the same hand. The coins<sup>7</sup> that have preserved a memory of this work, be it ever so slight, suffice to prove that if it was analogous, it was certainly not the statue that we are looking for. That Pliny<sup>8</sup> mentions an Aesculapius in his catalogue of bronze-workers as one of two works of our master, does not help us any further. And if we might be induced to connect with our Alexandrian find the notice of Pausanias about the statue in the temple which Antoninus built at Epidauros for the Egyptian Hygieia, Apollo and Asklepios, we should soon be corrected by the Alexandrian coins. These show a head that agrees wonderfully well (Fig. 3, 1),<sup>9</sup>



FIG. 3.—COINS OF ALEXANDRIA AND COS.

but have a very different body (Fig. 3, 2):<sup>10</sup> not so much in the general pose, which is akin, as in the action—the right hand holding a phiale, the left arm wrapped in the mantle, whilst that which we are in search of leans on a long stick, with part of his garment propped under his left armpit, his right hand resting on his hip. This was, from the time of Mikon, a not unusual Attic scheme. The Egyptian deities whom the emperor introduced at Epidauros were, no doubt, Sarapis, Isis and Harpokrates.

Bryaxis, though Athenodoros calls him an Athenian, and though he may have developed his art in the Attic metropolis, bears a Carian name, and certainly worked in his native land, as the youngest, probably, amongst the famous sculptors of the Mausoleum in the middle of the fourth century, at

<sup>7</sup> Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner, *Num. Comm. Megara*, vi. and vii.

<sup>8</sup> *Hist. Nat.* xxxiv. 73

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<sup>9</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Alexandria*, Pl. V., No. 1706 and specially 1782.

<sup>10</sup> *l.c.*, No. 703, 705, 1315, 1613.

Rhodes and at Cnidos, where five colossal gods of bronze and a marble Dionysos respectively are mentioned by Pliny.<sup>11</sup>

Now as Cos was one of the most renowned sanctuaries of Asklepios it seems worth while to inquire if there be any trace of his having made a statue of the god for this island. So it certainly is not unexpected that a unique Coan silver tetradrachm of the second century, with the magistrate's name of Nikostratos, in the Hunterian collection<sup>12</sup> (Fig. 3, 4), bears an Asklepios of grand style that corresponds in every detail to the Epidaurian statuettes, and differs only in its finer feeling for the great lines and the rhythm of the more svelter figure. Nor do the heads of Asklepios in profile, which occur in the same epoch on the smaller coins of Cos (Fig. 3, 3),<sup>13</sup> present any objection to the supposition that the image of the god at the sanctuary had the aspect of the Asklepios Blacas. That the Asklepios on the bronze coins of Hadrian<sup>14</sup> presents another type is no serious objection.

I need hardly recall the frequent intercourse of Alexandria with Cos (which after the death of Alexander fell to the share of Ptolemy, and of which Herondas left us such a lively scene in his visit of Kunno and Kokkale, the Alexandrian housewives, to the sanctuary) to support the theory that our fragmentary head may have been a copy of the Coan original, as well as the Epidaurian statuettes and the Munich torso which Wolters cites.<sup>15</sup> However, I should prefer another solution. Close as we found the resemblance of the colossal head to the Melian, we yet had to observe a difference in the shape of the nose, which might easily be accounted for by the work of the copyist, but may not less well be due to the variations which an artist would make in using the same ideas of form and expression for different statues of the same god. And as we have found on the Alexandrian coins a type that stands no farther away from the Coan than the Megarian does, it looks as if Bryaxis might have made an Asklepios for Alexandria as well as a Sarapis.

The Alexandrian fragment even seems to be of such excellent quality that I venture to ask if it might not be an original, though I lack means to decide if the rather rare technique of plaster hair, surrounding a marble face, might be as early as Bryaxis and not beneath his standing as an artist.

If Bryaxis should thus have made an Asklepios for Megara, for Cos and for Alexandria, slightly varying in attitude though identical in type, one feels inclined to suggest that the Roman replica in the Pamfili collection,<sup>16</sup> which Wolters mentions as differing from the Epidaurian statuettes by its action and by the overlap of the mantle falling in front, might be a copy of the Aesculapius mentioned by Pliny. It would therefore be a fourth work, intermediate between the Coan and the Alexandrian, holding a phiale like the latter, but leaning on a stick like the former. Not that there is any reason to assume that our artist had a special predilection for sculpturing the healing god, but that as he succeeded in creating a type that answered to the highest

<sup>11</sup> *Hist. Nat.*, xxxiv. 42 and xxxvi. 22.

<sup>12</sup> *Greek Coins in the Hunterian Coll.*, II. Pl. 54, 18; *B. M. Cat. Caria*, Pl. XLV. 6.

<sup>13</sup> *B. M. Cat.*, Pl. XXXII. 2-5.

<sup>14</sup> *l.c.*, p. 218, No. 241. I owe the cast to the kind help of Mr. G. F. Hill.

<sup>15</sup> *l.c.*, p. 10, Pl. IV.

<sup>16</sup> *l.c.*, p. 6; Clarac iv. Taf. 551. 1160 c.

expectations of his age, he was called upon to repeat his success. If Petersen<sup>17</sup> was right in suggesting that Bryaxis created his Sarapis on the analogy of the Asklepios of Thrasymedes at Epidauros, and Wilcken<sup>18</sup> in accepting this view, it is probable that the advisers of Ptolemy advised the king to commission Bryaxis to make this statue, because his Asklepios had met with such success. It was their intention to resuscitate the Egyptian god Hesar-Hapi as a syncretic Hellenistic deity, whose character as a god of the dead was to be softened by qualities like those of the healing god.<sup>19</sup>

Be this as it may, it seems evident that the Alexandrian and the Melian head and the Coan coin go a long way to enlarge our knowledge of Bryaxis, the Carian artist who did so much to develop the Praxitelean style in the second half of the third century B.C., and who, attempting under the influence of Euphranor, to give a more earnest character to such gods as Zeus or Sarapis, solved this problem best in rendering the benignity of the god who heals the sufferings of the sick and ailing.

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<sup>17</sup> *Arch. f. Relig.*, xiii. p. 72.

<sup>18</sup> *Jahrb.* xxxii., 1917, p. 190.

<sup>19</sup> Tacitus, *Hist.* IV. 84, deum ipsum multi Aesculapium, quod medeatur aegris corporibus, quidam Osirin, antiquissimum

illis gentibus numen, plerique Jovem, ut rerum omnium potentem, plurimi Ditem patrem, insignibus quae in ipso manifesta aut per ambages coniectant.

## THE LAST ATHENIAN HISTORIAN : LAONIKOS CHALKOKONDYLES

FROM the Roman to the Turkish conquest of Greece, a period of sixteen centuries, Athens produced only three historians : Dexippos, Praxagoras and Laonikos Chalkokondyles. Of the two first only meagre fragments have come down to us; indeed, of the three treatises of Praxagoras, *The Kings of Athens*, composed when he was only nineteen, his *History of Constantine the Great*, written at the age of twenty-two, and his maturer study of *Alexander, King of Macedon*, only a summary of the second, amounting to two pages, has been preserved by that omnivorous reader, Photios, in his *Library*. Such juvenile histories cannot, however, have had much greater value than prize essays, conspicuous rather for their correctness of style than for any seasoned judgment. But we may regret that only thirty-five pages of the three works of Dexippos, *The Events after the Death of Alexander*, *The Historical Epitome*, which went as far as the time of Claudius II. in 268, and *The Scythian Affairs*, have survived.<sup>1</sup> For Dexippos was an author of a very different type, a man of affairs as well as of letters, the type of historian of which we have familiar examples in England in Grote and Macaulay, in Clarendon and Bryce. A worse writer, but a better general, than his model, Thucydides, he defeated the Goths when they invaded Athens, on which occasion a Gothic leader urged the sparing of the Athenian libraries, in order that the Athenians might unfit themselves for the arts of war by much study of books! After these two historians, who flourished, Dexippos in the third, and Praxagoras in the fourth centuries, no Athenian took their place till, in the second half of the fifteenth, Laonikos Chalkokondyles composed the extant ten books of his history, one of the most interesting and valuable productions of the mediaeval Greek intellect.

Laonikos, or Nicholas, Chalkokondyles, was, as he tells us in a sentence imitated from Thucydides, 'an Athenian,' and a member of the leading Greek family in the Athens of his day. Unlike the modern diarist, he talks little about himself; but on July 30 and August 2, 1447, the famous archaeologist and traveller, Cyriacus of Ancona, mentions meeting at Mistrâ, the mediaeval Sparta, then capital of the Greek principality in the South of the Morea, of which Constantine Palaiologos (subsequently the last Greek Emperor) was then ruler, the young Athenian, Nicholas Chalkokandyles, son of George, '*egregie latinis atque grecis litteris eruditum*.'<sup>2</sup> This can have been none other than the future historian, of whose surname there were several forms : Chalkokandyles ('the man with the brazen candlestick'), Chalkokondyles ('the

<sup>1</sup> *Historici Graeci Minores*, i. 165-200, 438-40; Photios, *Bibliotheca*, codd. 62, 82. <sup>2</sup> *Miscellanea Ceriani* (Milano, 1910), pp. 203-4.

man with the brazen pen'), and an abbreviated version of the latter, Chalkondyles, corrupted in the vernacular into Charkondyles. His father, 'the Athenian optimate,' was, as the historian informs us,<sup>3</sup> a kinsman of Maria Melissené, the Duchess of Athens, wife of its Florentine Duke, Antonio I. Acciajuoli, and therefore connected with one of the most distinguished Greek families. For the Duchess' father, the lord of Astros and Kyparissia, both historic places in the Morea, was great-grandson of the Strategopoulos, who had recovered Constantinople from the Latins in 1261, and whose family had been mentioned as early as 1082. When, in 1435, the Duke of Athens died, the ambitious Duchess sent the elder Chalkokondyles on a mission to Murad II., asking that the government of Athens might be entrusted to herself and her relative, and offering a large sum as *bakshish*. But Greek leaders always have rivals, and in this case the normal rivalry was accentuated by racial antipathy. The Florentine party at Athens and the other Greek notables hostile to Chalkokondyles enticed the Duchess, during his absence, out of the Akropolis and proclaimed a young scion of the Acciajuoli family, Nerio II., as Duke of Athens. The expulsion of the family of Chalkokondyles from its native city and the marriage of the Dowager Duchess with the new Italian Duke restored peace to Athens. Meanwhile, George Chalkokondyles had fared badly at the Porte. The Sultan, despite the offer of 30,000 gold pieces, declined to accept the Greek envoy's proposal, cast him into prison and demanded the unconditional surrender of the Duchy. The envoy managed to escape to Constantinople, leaving his retinue, tents and beasts of burden behind him. But on the voyage from Constantinople to the Greek dominions in the Peloponnese, he was captured by an Athenian ship and taken back to the Sultan, who pardoned him. This was not his only experience of Greco-Turkish diplomacy. Eleven years later he went on a mission from the Despot Constantine to Murad, who imprisoned him at Serres.<sup>4</sup> In that year, 1446, his son, the historian, was evidently an eye-witness of the Sultan's attack upon the Hexamilion, or Six-mile Rampart, which defended the Isthmus of Corinth.<sup>5</sup> But a later writer, Theodore Spandounis,<sup>6</sup> finds no confirmation in our text of Chalkokondyles, when he describes the latter as secretary of Murad II. and as present at the fatal battle of Varna in 1444. The date at which he composed his history can be approximately fixed. The latest event which he mentions is the capture of Lemnos by the Venetians early in 1464. As he speaks of the Venetians as still holding Euboea, which was captured by the Turks in 1470, he must have written between those two dates. We might perhaps infer from his mention of the Teutonic Knights as still occupying Prussia, that he wrote before 1466, when the second treaty of Thorn compelled them to cede West Prussia to Poland and to hold East Prussia as a Polish fief.<sup>7</sup> The appendix, which exists in some editions, carrying the narrative down to 1565, is, of course, not his, nor is there any authority for the theory of Vossius, that he lived till 1490 or later. If we may believe the fragmentary *Life* by

<sup>3</sup> P. 320 (ed. Bonn).

<sup>4</sup> P. 343.

<sup>5</sup> P. 344, *ἑθεασάμεθα*.

<sup>6</sup> *Apud* Sathas, *Μνημεῖα Ἑλληνικῆς ἱστορίας*, ix. 261.

<sup>7</sup> Pp. 132, 208, 565.



the Greek doctor, Antonios Kalosynas,<sup>8</sup> he, like his brother Demetrios, and most other Greek scholars, left Greece after the Turkish conquest, when Mistrâ was no longer the seat of a Greek court and an agreeable residence. He would probably in that case have settled in Italy, of which his history shows special knowledge, and where Demetrios, who was born in 1424, has left a name famous in the revival of learning. Invited by Lorenzo the Magnificent to fill the chair of Greek at Florence, he there brought out an edition of the *Iliad*, and exercised indirectly a profound influence upon English education, because Grocyn and Linacre were his pupils. In a letter written from the Villa Medici, Politian mentions him, but he died at Milan in 1511, after bringing out a volume of *Questions* there, the father of ten children. Even after the Turkish conquest, however, the family still resided at Athens. In 1545 a 'Demetris Charkantyles' is mentioned in an inscription in a convent-farm of the famous monastery of Kaisariane, which was traditionally connected with that family, and the, in Turkish times, far more prominent Benizeloi. Spon,<sup>9</sup> who visited Athens in 1675, found it, however, 'of modest fortune.' 'Stamati Calcondili,' whom he describes as 'a descendant of the historian,' was a small tradesman, who 'had a house under the Castle,' but 'generally resided at Mistrâ.' Still, the Chalkokondylai were long reckoned among the twelve oldest Athenian families, and belonged to the *Archontes*—the first of the four classes into which the Athenians were divided in Turkish times. The French traveller, Linguet, visited three members of the family in their 'humble workshop' at Athens in 1729, and a Nicholas Chalkokondyles was living there in 1883, while a modern street preserves the surname of the last Athenian historian.<sup>10</sup>

Chalkokondyles differs from all other Byzantine historians in the choice of his theme. While they wrote of the Greek Empire, which in his day came to its end, he wrote of the rise and progress of the young and vigorous Turkish Empire which had taken its place. He is, in fact, the mediaeval Herodotus—the historian of that centuries-old duel between Europe and Asia—*Graecia Barbariae lento collisa duello*—which began at Troy, was checked at Marathon and Salamis, renewed on the field of Kossovo and on the ramparts of Constantinople, continued in our time at the battles of Sarantaporon, Kumanovo and Lülé Bourgas, and almost finished by the treaty of Sèvres. With an impartiality rare in a part of the world where racial hatred burns so fiercely, he describes the origin, organisation and triumph of his nation's great enemy, while he extends his narrative beyond the borders of the Greek Empire, to the Serbs, the Bosniaks, the Bulgarians and the Roumanians, with interesting and curious digressions, quite in the style of Herodotus, about the manners and customs of countries beyond South-Eastern Europe—Hungary, Germany, Italy, Spain, France and England. This great variety justifies the remark of a critic, that 'he has the gift of arousing our attention, by inspiring us with curiosity, and of not letting us fall asleep over his book.'

<sup>8</sup> *Apud* Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, p. 243.

<sup>9</sup> *Voyage*, [Ital. trans.], p. 425.

<sup>10</sup> Kampouriglos, *Μνημεία τῆς ἱστορίας τῶν Ἀθηναίων* (ed. 2), i. 305–8; Ἀθηναϊκὸν Ἀρχοντολόγιον, 11.

Chalkokondyles remarks in his introduction, that the events which he is about to relate are inferior in importance to none. In that he was, indeed, a prophet, for the entry of the Turks into Europe, where they made their first permanent settlement in 1353, exactly one hundred years before the capture of Constantinople, not only completely revolutionised the Balkan peninsula, but created for Western Europe that terrible Eastern Question, which has set nation against nation, caused directly or indirectly most of our modern wars, and still, like a Sphinx, propounds its riddle to statesmen and diplomatists, which none can solve, because it is insoluble. Beginning his narrative with speculation upon the origin of the Turks, Chalkokondyles describes how, early in the thirteenth century, one of their tribes, named Oghuz, fleeing before the Mongols from its home in Central Asia, entered Armenia, and ultimately settled on the then frontier of the Byzantine Empire in Asia Minor, at Eski-shehr, the ancient Dorylaeum, where the Crusaders had won a famous victory in 1097 on their way to liberate Jerusalem, and where the Greek troops have now established their front against the Kemalists, and at Sugut ('the willow'), where Osman, the eponymous hero of the Osmanli race, was born. Thence the Turks spread over Asia Minor; Brûsa was taken in 1326 and became their capital; Nicaea, the seat of the famous Councils and the refuge of the Greek Emperors during the Latin occupation of Constantinople, became Turkish in 1330; and the quarrels of the Balkan Christians, Greeks against Greeks, Serbians against Bulgarians, Greeks against Serbians, invited and facilitated the expansion of the young and vigorous Turkish power into Europe.

The historian here dwells upon the prowess of the great Serbian Tsar, Stephen Dushan, the dominating personality of the Balkan peninsula in the middle of the fourteenth century, a legislator as well as a conqueror, whose people he pronounces to be 'the oldest and greatest of the nations of the earth,' but whose vast and heterogeneous empire, like all Balkan creations, made too rapidly and too forcibly to be assimilated, was the work of one man and died with him. There follow the transference of the Turkish capital to Adrianople and the two fatal Serbian defeats on the Maritza in 1371 and on the historic field of Kossovo in 1389, with which the first book appropriately ends. The last fragment of Bulgaria nine years later was completely annihilated and Bulgaria disappeared from the map for nearly five centuries, till the sword of Russia and the pen of Gladstone called it into existence again in 1878, only to demonstrate in the late war the truth of Bismarck's cynical saying, that 'liberated nations are not grateful but exacting.' A tributary Serbian principality lingered on for seventy years after Kossovo on the Danube by the sufferance of the Sultans; a divided Bosnian kingdom continued to exist, after the death of its great king, Tvrtko, combining, like Jugoslavia to-day, Catholic Croats and Orthodox Serbs, Slavs of the interior and a Latin population in the coast towns, and undermined by the Bogomil heresy, which preferred the Turk to the Catholic, and by the Slavonic law of succession, which, by excluding primogeniture, created rival candidatures to the throne at every vacancy, and surrounded a weak monarch with a too powerful aristocracy.

Beyond the Danube the Turkish authority began to penetrate; in 1391 Wallachia became a tributary province of Turkey; five years later the first attempt of Europe to drive the Turk back to Asia ended, owing to the impetuosity of the French, in the overwhelming defeat of Sigismund of Hungary and his new Crusaders at Nikopolis, where the Serbian Prince, Stephen Lazarevich, struck the decisive blow for the Turks against his fellow-Christians. In vain the Greek Emperor, Manuel II., visited the French and English courts, for the speech which Shakespeare puts into the mouth of Henry IV.,

‘As far as to the sepulchre of Christ  
Forthwith a power of English shall we levy,’

remained a pious wish, like that of Henry V., that he and Katharine of France should ‘compound a boy, half French, half English, that shall go to Constantinople [not yet Turkish] and take the Turk by the beard.’ For one cannot agree with Stubbs, that even had Henry V. lived, he could have succeeded in ‘staying the progress of the Ottomans.’ Manuel was treated with every honour, like Peter I. of Cyprus nearly forty years earlier, to whom, according to Froissart, Edward III. had regretted that he was ‘growing too old’ to put on the red cross, but must leave crusading to his children, like Leon VI., the last King of Cilician Armenia, to whom Richard II. had assigned an annuity of £1000. But the House of Lancaster was prevented by internal disputes and the French war from renewing the exploits of Richard I. and Prince Edward in the Holy Land.

The defeat and capture of Bayezid I. by Timûr-lenk at Angora and the ensuing civil war between his sons, to which events Chalkokondyles devotes much space, deferred the complete conquest of the Balkan peninsula and gave the Christians a respite of twenty years. But the accession of Murad II. was followed by the further expansion of the Turkish Empire. Salonika and Joannina became Turkish in 1430, and remained so till 1912 and 1913 respectively, and the tardy Greek reconquest of nearly all the Morea was at the expense not of the Turks but of the Franks, and was merely the swan-song of Hellenism in its classic home. The temporary success of that picturesque figure, Hunyad, ‘the white knight of Wallachia,’ was eclipsed by the great Turkish victory at Varna in 1444—a just retribution for the violated treaty which the perjured Christians had sworn to keep with the Infidel four months earlier. Another attempt by Hunyad four years later was wrecked on the fatal field of Kossovo by Roumanian desertion and Serbian treachery, for selfishness and mutual jealousy made it as easy for Murad II. as for Abdul Hamid II. to divide, and so rule over, the Balkan Christians.

We have now reached the events of which Chalkokondyles was a contemporary, and his narrative henceforth acquires additional value. With his aid and our later knowledge, derived from Western sources, let us see what was the position in the Near East in 1451, when Mohammed II. ascended the throne. Our author<sup>11</sup> has defined the extent of the Greek Empire on the

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<sup>11</sup> P. 8.



THE NEAR EAST IN 1451.

eve of its fall. That once vast dominion then consisted of Constantinople and a small strip of adjacent territory extending as far as Mesembria on the Black Sea and Herakleia (the modern Eregli) on the Sea of Marmara—a little more than that left to Turkey by the treaty of Sèvres. The two strategic islands of Imbros and Lemnos (the latter so familiar to our troops in the late war), which command the mouth of the Dardanelles, and the Northern Sporades, were all that remained to the Greek Empire of 'the isles of Greece'; and the most important portion was the Peloponnese, then wholly Greek, except for the four Venetian colonies of Modon and Coron (with the bay of Navarino) in the south-west and of Argos and Nauplia (with the outlying places of Kastri and Thermisi) in the east. The rest of the Greek world was either Turkish or still Frankish. Athens was the seat of a Florentine, and Naxos of a practically Venetian, Duchy—for even the 'non-Venetian dynasties' of the Cyclades 'were glad to be regarded as Venetians, whenever the Republic concluded a treaty of peace with the Turks,' while fresh Venetian families had latterly been acquiring insular baronies. Crete, Corfù (with its seven continental dependencies of Butrinto, Strovili, Saiada, La Bastia, Suboto, Parga and Phanari), Aegina (just acquired this very year), Tenos, Mykonos, and the continental outposts of Lepanto and Pteleon, strategically placed near the respective mouths of the Gulfs of Corinth and Volo, were direct Venetian colonies. Cerigo was partly a Venetian colony, partly a Marquisate hereditary in the Venetian family of Venier; Cerigotto was the still minuter Marquisate of the Venetian Viari; Paxo, reckoned as an integral part of Corfù, and placed under the supreme jurisdiction of the Venetian *provveditore* of the larger island, formed the barony of one of the great Italian families settled in the Ionian Islands; and Euboea, still nominally divided into the three original fiefs instituted at the time of the Frankish conquest, was practically governed by the Venetian bailie at Chalkis, whom the triarchs recognised as the representative of their suzerain. The Genoese family of the Gattilusj ruled over Lesbos, Thasos, Samothrace, the Thracian town of Aenos and Foglia Vecchia (or Phocaea) in Asia Minor; the Genoese Chartered Company, the *maona*, administered Chios, Samos, Psará and Foglia Nuova with its alum mines; the Genoese Bank of St. George (whose palace at Genoa was chosen as the seat of the recent Genoa Conference) owned Famagosta in Cyprus; the Genoese house of Arangio governed Ikaria. The rest of Cyprus belonged to the French dynasty of Lusignan. The Neapolitan family of Tocco possessed the remaining Ionian islands with the three points of Vonitza, Varnazza and Angelokastron on the opposite continent; the King of Naples was lord of the island of Kastellorizon, or 'Castel Rosso,' as it was then called, recently bestowed upon him by the Pope, which the treaty of Sèvres has ceded to Italy. Of the thirteen Sporades occupied by Italy since 1912, three, viz., Astypalaia, Karpathos and Kasos, belonged to the two Venetian families of Quirini and Cornaro; Patmos and Leipso were practically the unmolested home of the monks of St. John's, while Rhodes and the other seven islands were ruled by the Knights, who held on the mainland of Asia one castle, S. Pietro, the ancient Halikarnassos, and the modern Budrum. One independent Greek state, the Empire of Trebizond,

famous for the beauty of its princesses, still survived on the southern shores of the Black Sea, where in our own time a movement is on foot for the creation of an autonomous Greek state of Pontus, and where Genoa still possessed colonies at Samsun and Samastri.

Such is a picture of the Greek-speaking world two years before the fall of the Byzantine Empire. Outside those limits a tributary Serbian principality, already once absorbed but allowed to re-exist till it pleased the Sultan to end it, lingered on the Danube, and still stretched as far as Podgoritza in Montenegro. But Belgrade had been ceded to Hungary, and Serhia no longer possessed an outlet on the Adriatic; the Serhian capital was the castle of Semendria, which still reminds the traveller down the Danube of old George Brankovich and the last days of mediaeval Serhia. Of the other Slav states, the Bosnian kingdom, in frequent strife with Serbia over the possession of the frontier towns, was divided against itself by the King's conversion to Catholicism and persecution of the Bogomils, who flocked into what had recently become 'the Duchy of St. Sava'—the modern Herzegovina, through the assumption of the ducal title by the powerful noble, Stephen Vukitchich, but what Chalkokondyles calls 'the land of Sandales,'<sup>12</sup> from Vukitchich's uncle and predecessor, Sandalj Hranich, and whose inhabitants he describes as *Koudougeroi*, or Bogomils. The latter half of this word (used also by the Patriarch Gennadios) is perhaps a translation of the Serbian *Staratz* ('old man')—the title of a Bogomil official. Montenegro was just beginning its glorious, but now ended, career under Stephen Crnojević; Skanderbeg still held out in Albania, where Venice maintained colonies at Alessio, Drivasto, Dagno, Satti, Scutari, Durazzo, Antivari and Dulcigno. Practically all the Dalmatian coast was Venetian, broken only by the independent Republic of Ragusa, while the smaller Slavonic Republic of Poljica was under Venetian protection. Ragusa excited the admiration of the Athenian by its excellent aristocratic government and the fine buildings which adorned the city, 'obscure perhaps in glory, but a good nursing-mother of shrewd men.' Ragusa was, indeed, called 'the Slavonic Athens.'

Chalkokondyles gives us a long and graphic account of the capture of Constantinople, of the block at the gate of St. Romanos, of the massacre in St. Sophia; he is sufficiently superstitious to repeat the popular conviction that its fall was a punishment for that of Troy, and wonders that some people disbelieve the Sibylline oracle, which omitted from the list of Emperors and Patriarchs the last Constantine and Joseph II., who died during the Council of Florence and whom he erroneously calls Gregorios. He describes at great length, as is natural in one intimately acquainted with the country and the people, and who, as in the case of the massacre at Leondari, had his account from eye-witnesses, the final destruction of the Greek rule over the Morea and of the Florentine Duchy of Athens; he narrates the end of the Empire of Trebizond (the memory of which lingered on in Rabelais<sup>13</sup> in the next century and in Pérez Galdós in the last) and of the domain of the Gattilusj,

<sup>12</sup> Pp. 248-49, 531, 533, 534, 540, 543.

<sup>13</sup> Bk. i. ch. 33; Pérez Galdós, *Trafalgar*, p. 5.

the annihilation of all that remained of Serbia and of the kingdom of Bosnia. And he puts into the mouth of Capello a speech urging Venice to go to war against the Turks in 1463, in which he makes the Venetian statesman reproach the Republic for not having helped to defend Constantinople, and for not having assisted the Despots of the Morea and the King of Bosnia. 'Our abandonment of them one after the other,' Capello says, 'brings shame and disgrace to us among other European nations, as if we had abandoned races of the same religion as ourselves for the sake of trade and filthy lucre.'<sup>14</sup> These words might have been addressed on several occasions during the last thirty years to certain Great Powers, whose abandonment of the Christian populations of Turkey may be traced to concessions and other lucrative 'affairs.' Such was the gloomy situation in the midst of which this patriotic Athenian closed his history. Yet he had a glorious vision of his nation's resurrection. Writing, probably in the bitter exile of a foreign land, he yet foresaw the day when a Greek king and kings that should spring from his loins should rule over 'no mean kingdom,' whither the children of the Greeks should gather together and govern themselves according to their own customs in a manner to secure happiness at home and respect abroad.'<sup>15</sup> The modern Greek kingdom, established in 1832 with modest and impossible frontiers, but four times enlarged since then, might be regarded as a realisation of the last Athenian historian's remarkable forecast. A hundred years ago last April the massacre of Chios convinced Western Europe that the Greeks could no longer live under the Turks.

Chalkokondyles had carefully studied the arrangements which had helped the Turks to conquer their divided foes. He gives an elaborate account of the Turkish financial system and revenue in the reign of Mohammed II. He considers the Turks as the only people who looked properly after their commissariat in time of war; he mentions their excellent cannon, and remarks that a Roumanian was Mohammed's chief artillery officer at the siege of Constantinople; he shows no trace of bigotry in his sketch of the Moslem religion; he alludes to the fatalism which it engenders; and admires the great speed of the Sultan's messengers, who, thanks to relays of horses, could travel from the Morea to Adrianople in five, instead of the usual fifteen, days, and says that in the art of rope-walking the Turks excel all others.<sup>16</sup> Nor does he show the least Chauvinism in treating of other races settled upon Greek soil. He mentions the Slavs of Taÿgetos and the Wallachs of Pindos;<sup>17</sup> of the Roumanians beyond the Danube, people who were 'always changing their rulers,' he truly says that, though Roumanian resembles Italian, it is so corrupt that Italians would understand it with difficulty, and he has no idea of their origin. But he writes at length of their terrible but resolute prince, Vlad 'the Empaler,' who defeated the Turks in 1462 and aroused the admiration of Mohammed II. by the fear that he inspired in his subjects; and he celebrates the prowess of Skanderbeg, although Albanian ethnology baffled him as so many others.

In dealing, therefore, with the Balkan peninsula he is singularly fair.

<sup>14</sup> P. 549.

<sup>15</sup> P. 4.

<sup>16</sup> Pp. 361, 383, 435, 504.

<sup>17</sup> Pp. 35, 319.

There is in him none of that vehement hatred of the Latins which characterises the pages in which Niketas, with whom in point of interest he may be compared, displays his hatred for the Latin conquerors, masquerading as Crusaders, who seized and sacked Constantinople. This is all the more creditable, because his family had been expelled from Florentine Athens, just as Niketas had had to flee from Latin Constantinople. There is more objectivity in his narrative than in that of his contemporary, Phrantzes. He lacks the vanity of Anna Comnena, nor is his history an *apologia pro vitâ suâ*, like that of Cantacuzene. The lack of theological discussions and digressions marks him off from Nikephoros Gregoras and most of the other Byzantine historians. And the period in Balkan history of which he wrote was the most thrilling known except our own.

Like a modern Athenian, this fifteenth-century scholar was also keenly interested in 'Europe.' Before our author the only mediaeval Greek historian who had treated of our country was Procopius, nine centuries earlier, for whom the British isles were a mythical country, as unreal as the Isles of the Blest. He describes England as the abode of departed spirits, ferried over from the opposite coast by fishermen, who, instead of tribute, perform this melancholy office. Julian the Apostate, two centuries before Procopius, had described, from personal residence, a severe winter in Paris—the huge blocks of ice in the Seine, the lack of central heating, and the dampness of the walls which filled his head with fumes when a fire was lighted. Phrantzes, a contemporary of Chalkokondyles, whose daughter, 'Theodora Phranza,' in the curious novel of Neale, is represented as marrying an English knight, alludes to the British as practising polygamy.

The visit of the Emperor Manuel II. to France and England in 1400 and 1401, in the hope of obtaining aid against the Turks, gives the historian an excuse for digressions on the manners and customs of those countries, based upon information brought back by some one in the Emperor's retinue and handed down orally to the next generation. He describes our ancestors in the time of Henry IV. as 'a numerous and strong race,' inhabiting 'great and rich cities and very many villages.' He knows that London, 'a city excelling in power all the cities in this island, and in wealth and other good things second to no city of the West, and in courage and warlike spirit superior to its neighbours and to many other Western cities,' is the seat of the monarchy, to which 'not a few principalities are subject; for the king could not easily deprive any of these princes of his principality, nor do they think fit to obey the king contrariwise to their customs; and in this island there have been not a few disasters, when the princes came into disagreement with the king and with one another'—an accurate summary of the relations between the Crown and the feudal baronage during the Plantagenet and Lancastrian dynasties. England, he adds, produces no wine nor, indeed, much fruit, but wheat and barley and honey. Its wool is the best in the world, and is used in manufacturing large quantities of clothing; the language of its inhabitants resembles none other; their dress, manners and mode of living are the same as those of the French. There follows a passage about our family life which,



owing to a mistranslation in the detestable Latin version of Clauser, has scandalised English readers who took the account of Chalkokondyles second-hand from Burton or Gibbon. But a modern Greek, who was both a scholar and a gentleman, has shown<sup>18</sup> that this idea rests upon a misunderstanding of two verbs in the text, and has vindicated our ancestresses from the charges brought against them. According to him, the passage should be translated as follows: 'Their treatment of their wives and children is simpler (than in France), so that throughout the island, whenever any invited guest enters a friend's house, the lady of the house lets herself be kissed by the visitor as a mark of welcome. And in the streets the English everywhere introduce their wives to their friends. And it is no disgrace to them for their wives and daughters to be kissed.' That this was the historian's meaning is conclusively proved by two passages, one of the Corfiote traveller, Noukios,<sup>19</sup> who visited England in 1545, and who wrote that the English 'display great simplicity and absence of jealousy in their usages towards females. For not only do those who are of the same family and household kiss them on the mouth with salutations and embraces, but even those too who have never seen them. And to themselves this appears by no means indecent.' Similarly Erasmus,<sup>20</sup> who first visited England in 1497, wrote of the English: 'They have one custom which cannot be too much admired. When you go anywhere on a visit the girls all kiss you. They kiss you when you arrive; they kiss you when you go away; and they kiss you again when you return. Go where you will, it is all kisses; and, my dear Faustus, if you had once tasted how soft and fragrant those lips are, you would wish to spend your life here.' This freedom of social life, even so innocent a custom as to introduce one's wife to a casual acquaintance met on a walk, would naturally strike a Greek as most extraordinary, owing to the complete seclusion in which, as we know from Doukas and others, Byzantine women were kept. Indeed, even to-day there are places in Greece where the women are not introduced to visitors, and it is not only in Greece that the independence and easy-going manners of the Anglo-Saxon girl arouse the occasional surprise of the foreigner.

The Athenian writer admits that the French are a great and rich race with a great opinion of themselves, for they think that they excel all other Western nations. They claim to be the first Western race wherever they may be; but have given up somewhat of that foolish idea since the English subdued their territory and besieged Paris. Of the Hundred Years' War between England and France he has something to say. He mentions the capture of Calais by Edward III. in 1347, and has heard of Joan of Arc, whom, however, he supposes to have died in war. Under the name of 'the plain of grief' he evidently conceals the battle of Azincourt, which he had heard pronounced and mistook for *Chagrincourt*.<sup>21</sup> French diet he esteems as more refined than

<sup>18</sup> Sp. Moraitis in *Revue des études grecques* (1888), i. 94-98, who shows that κύσαντα is aorist participle of κυνεῖν ('to kiss') and κύεσθαι passive infinitive of κύειν (also 'to kiss').

<sup>19</sup> *The second book of the travels of Nicander*

*Nucius of Corcyra* (Ed. Cramer, J. A., London, 1841), p. 10.

<sup>20</sup> Epist. 65. To Anderlin (Ed. Froude, 1895).

<sup>21</sup> P. 91, τῷ λύπητος πεδίῳ.

Italian; he speaks of the wealth of Paris, and, like Ariosto, specially cites the wonderful bridge of Avignon.

Germany he considers the best governed of all Northern and Western countries, and invincible, if it were unanimous and directed by one ruler—a prophecy falsified by recent events. The Germans are very warlike and clever at mechanical work, and some think that they invented cannon. He has heard of the prevalence of duelling among them, and knows about the German Order of Knights in Prussia. Prussia, he has heard, is conspicuous for its 'very beautiful and well-ordered cities.' He praises the bravery of the Hungarians, whose language, he finds, 'resembles no other,' and whose kings are foreigners, as they, in fact, had been since the extinction of the male line of Árpád in 1301. About the Bohemians he thrice remarks that they had only recently ceased worshipping the sun and fire, attributing their conversion to Capistran, the famous Franciscan, who played such a prominent part in defending Belgrade against the Turks in 1456,<sup>22</sup> just as a woman, St. Nina, had converted the Georgians. This may perhaps be the form in which the rising of the Bohemian Taborites, a Hussite sect, who encamped upon a mountain which they called Tabor, reached the Greek writer. The Czechoslovak Minister to the Quirinal, M. Kybal, himself a distinguished historian, informs me that there is no foundation for this strange legend of sun-worship among his countrymen.

Of all Western countries the author devotes most space to Italy, about which he had collected much information either first-hand or from his brother and others. Venice, whose constitution he describes, excels all Italian cities in the magnificence of the palaces and in their construction on the sea. After Venice the richest Italian city is Florence, being both a commercial and an agricultural centre; while its inhabitants are thought to surpass all other Italians in intelligence and its women in beauty. Bologna, even in those days, before the conflicts of Communists and *Fascisti*, had a reputation for turbulence, but also for learning. Genoa, whose name he derives not from *genu* (owing to the formation of the coast), but from *janua*, as being 'the door' of Italy, he defines as neither a democracy nor an aristocracy, but a mixture of the two. The two great local families are the Doria and Spinola, but the rulers are usually either an Adorno or a Fregoso. He realises the weakness of mediaeval Genoa—its division into rival parties, one French, one Italian. He was specially well-informed about Milan, although it requires some ingenuity to recognise in the dynasty of the *Mariangelo* the Visconti, whose representative then bore the names of Filippo Maria, whereas we easily discover in the *Klimakioi* of Verona a Greek translation of the Scaligeri. His translation of Fortebraccio as Βραχύς ('short') is less successful. He has heard much about the Papacy. He believes the legend of Pope Joan, which one of his modern compatriots, Ροίδες, has made the subject of perhaps the best-known Greek novel; and he alludes to the prophecies of a certain sage, named Joachim, about the Popes, meaning the Calabrian Abbot, Gioacchino de Flore, who lived in the thirteenth century. He gives a curious account of a Conclave: the

<sup>22</sup> Pp. 133, 419, 425, 468. *English Historical Review* (1892), vii. 235-52.

'grand electors' to the Papacy are the two most powerful families, the Colonna and the Orsini, but the Cardinals generally agree in choosing some one who is an outsider and therefore a neutral. The practice of taking a new name upon election he regards as a sign of the transformation which comes over the elect. But he is baffled by the origin of the dispute between Guelphs and Ghibellines. Nor is he always accurate in his papal nomenclature, calling Calixtus III. 'Eusebios.' Of Cardinal Bessarion he remarks, that in natural intelligence he excelled all the Greeks, that his judgment was excellent, and that he was second to none in Greek and Roman learning. Thus, the Turkish history of Chalkokondyles is really a survey of Europe from the Greek standpoint shortly after the fall of Constantinople. Like all universal historians, the author was variously informed according to the nearness or remoteness of the country described. He is a first-hand authority for Greece, shows great knowledge of Serbian, Bosnian and Turkish affairs, and has a fair acquaintance with nations farther afield, especially with Italy.

Of his predecessor, Dexippos, it was remarked by Photios that he was 'a second, but a somewhat clearer, Thucydides'; of our author it may be said that he was a mediaeval Herodotus, although he does not write in the Ionic dialect. Like most Byzantine historians, he writes in the literary, not the vulgar, language, and has the tiresome and pedantic habit of calling mediaeval races by ancient names, the Bulgarians 'Moesians' and the Serbs 'Triballians'; but his reader must at times throw classical syntax to the winds. With that premise, his language is not difficult, but there is no writer in the Bonn edition of Byzantine historians who has suffered so much from the infamous Latin translation appended to the text. The Bonn edition of Chalkokondyles bears the great name of Immanuel Bekker, but the translator was not only ignorant of some of the easiest Greek words, but was totally devoid of any knowledge of Balkan history and, therefore, unable to identify many of the Slav proper names which lurk beneath the Greek declensions of the classically minded Athenian, just as in the modern Greek newspaper it requires some knowledge of foreign politics to make out the names of Western statesmen and publicists, like Mr. Bonar Law, or the late J. D. Bouchier, in their Greek dress, or to realise that the *Tribuna* is the Βῆμα and the *Morning Post* the Ἑθνικός Ταχυδρόμος. A new edition of Chalkokondyles with historical notes by some one familiar with Balkan history would throw much light upon a period of history which, if for the Greek Empire be substituted the Turkish, presents a striking similarity with our own. For the Greek and Slav states, of which Chalkokondyles witnessed the fall, have arisen to fresh life, while Turkey, whose triumph he described, has for most practical purposes retired to that continent whence she came to encamp—for it was only a long encampment—in the Balkan peninsula now since 1919, and the disappearance of Austria from Bosnia and the Herzegovina recognised as belonging exclusively 'to the Balkan peoples,' just as the Iberian to the Spanish and Portuguese, and the Italian to the Italians.

Following the practice of Herodotus and Thucydides, Chalkokondyles is fond of putting speeches, sometimes of considerable length, into the mouths

of historical characters. These orations, given textually, are like the *verbatim* reports of what passes within a papal conclave or a secret meeting of the Supreme Council by special correspondents; they are works of imagination, pleasing, no doubt, to the reader, who likes to hear the great talk in the first person, but not true. They have, however, the advantage, also not unknown to journalists, of enabling the author to put his own views on questions of policy through the medium of some important personage, whose name commands respect, just as it is usual to attribute good stories to eminent persons (in many cases incapable of having told them), whereas their real parentage is humbler.

For us to-day the last of the Athenian historians has a message, and it is this: that the discord of the Eastern Christians and the selfishness of the Great Powers brought the Turks into Europe and kept them there; and that, to use their own phraseology, it was 'fated' that one day they should quit it for their own continent. As the late Lord Salisbury once said, Christian territory, once emancipated from Turkey, cannot be restored to it, because the Turkish Government has shown that it cannot govern, as some others can govern, races of another religion. The history of every Balkan State tells that tale; and on every occasion when diplomacy with its half-measures and its stop-gap compromises which please no one, neglects the eternal processes of history, the latter has been proved to be right.

WILLIAM MILLER.

## POET OR LAW-GIVER?

### I

FEW Greek statues are so famous as the draped marble figure, somewhat larger than life, known under the name of 'Sophocles,' which has been for many years the chief attraction of the Lateran Museum (Figs. 1, 2). Indeed it was on account of this statue, and on the occasion of its discovery, that Pope Gregory XVI ordered a part of the Lateran Palace to be converted into a Museum, wishing to provide the gem with a worthy shrine of its own.

Nor is such fame undeserved.

The calm and dignified attitude, the high-spirited head, the clever and harmonious arrangement of the drapery, the careful, broad and supple workmanship—everything combines to make our statue not only a masterpiece of Greek art, but the classical type of an Athenian gentleman shown in the bloom of full manhood, as he may have been met with sauntering about the theatre or agora in the fifth century B.C.

Though all do not agree that we have here, as has been often said, the finest life-size portrait which has come down to us from Hellenic sculpture, at any rate, since the first day of its appearance, artists and archaeologists have been unanimous in its praise. Their admiration was sometimes even expressed in dithyrambic style, hardly admitting a cautious criticism concerning the lack of individuality in the features and expression, a somewhat theatrical touch in the bearing, a rather



FIG. 1.—SO-CALLED SOPHOCLES. ROME, LATERAN.

overdone elaboration in the head-dress and the folds of the mantle, a superficial rendering of the moral and intellectual character.

We shall see presently how far these strictures are justified. The purpose of this paper is not to put forward yet another aesthetic description and dis-

cussion of the statue. It is merely to test the accuracy of its identification. My inquiry bears only on this: Is this famous marble rightly called *Sophocles*? On what grounds is it usually given as a faithful copy of the portrait, the only portrait of the great poet which is historically certified—I mean the bronze statue set up between 340 and 330 B.C., on the motion of the orator Lycurgus, in the theatre of Athens, by the side of those of his great rivals, Aeschylus and Euripides? <sup>1</sup>

## II

A certain amount of mystery still prevails around the date and circumstances of the discovery of the statue, nor is there any agreement as to who was the first to point out its merits, and, if I may say, to christen the child.

All that we know is that it comes from the ruins of Terracina, otherwise called Anxur, the old city of the Volsci, so picturesquely seated at the outlet of the Pomptine marshes, on a high white cliff overlooking the passes of the Via Appia. Every scholar remembers the line of Horace: *Impositum saxi late candentibus Anxur*.<sup>2</sup> Beneath the cliff, in the suburbs and neighbourhood of the old town, stood many villas of the Roman aristocracy; one belonged to the Emperor Domitian, in another one Galba was born.<sup>3</sup> Our statue is said to have been dug up in the so-called 'sand district' (*arene*) south of the canal, about a hundred yards south-west from the amphitheatre of the Memmii.<sup>4</sup> Did there stand formerly in this place some public building (such as a library or Court of Justice) or rather a private villa? We do not know, and it would be well worth while to make a fresh inquiry on the spot and dig the place more thoroughly.

The statue had been lying for some years—*non sono molti anni*—forsaken, face downwards, in the courtyard of a house of Terracina, when, in the spring of 1839, during an inspection tour of Pope Gregory XVI, the Counts Antonelli, on whose ground it had been unearthed, gave it as a present to the Pontiff. So we are reminded by the inscription engraved on the pedestal: *FAMILIA ANTONELLIA TERRACINENSIS DONAVIT ANNO MDCCCXXXIX*.

<sup>1</sup> I completely share the doubts expressed by Wieseler (*Gött. gel. Anzeigen*, 1848, p. 1220 sq.) concerning the usual interpretation of a corrupted passage in the anonymous *Vita Sophoclis* (Westermann's *Biographoi*, p. 128 = Overbeck, 1413), from which archaeologists have inferred the existence of an older statue erected to Sophocles, soon after his death, by his son Iophon—of whom, by the way, the learned gossip knew little else than his sad quarrels with his father. Here is the text of the MSS. as corrected by Meineke: *ἔσχε δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἀλωνος* ("Αλκωνος Meineke; but cf. E. Schmidt, *Ath. Mitt.* xxxviii. 73) *ἱερωσύνην, ὅς ἦρως ἦν μετ' Ἀσκληπιοῦ παρὰ Χείρωνι <τραφεῖς? add. Mein. > . . . (desunt quaedam) ἰδρυθεῖς ὑπ' Ἰοφῶντος τοῦ υἱοῦ μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν*. This seems to point to a statue,

not of Sophocles, but of the hero Alcon, a statue vowed by Sophocles but set up, after his death, by his son (Comp. Lycurgus I. 147, 43: *ἦρως κατὰ πόλιν—ἰδρύμενοι*). I have my doubts about the insertion of *τραφεῖς*. The sense may be that the statue of Alcon, with that of Asclepius, were both set up near the statue of Chiron: so we would have here a group of three statues. In this case *αὐτοῦ* ought to be inserted before or after *τελευτήν*.

<sup>2</sup> *Sat.*, i. 5, 26.

<sup>3</sup> Martial, v. 1; Suet. *Galba* 14. Cp. La Blanchère, *Terracine* (1884).

<sup>4</sup> La Blanchère, p. 136 and Pl. II. He gives, however, for the discovery the wrong date 1846, and quotes no authority for the particulars above mentioned.

Now who had pointed out to the generous owners the uncommon beauty of this piece of work, lost, until then, in the mass of the ordinary *figuræ palliatae*? Who was the first to suggest its being a portrait of Sophocles?

Here our authorities disagree.

At the Winckelmann birthday festival celebrated by the Archaeological Institute of Rome on December 9th, 1839, when Marchese Melchiorri revealed to the learned world the sensational discovery, the marquis claimed for himself the double praise of first appreciating and first naming the statue. Credit for this was also bestowed on him ten years later by Emil Braun, the German archaeologist: *Primo trai dotti ad osservare ed apprezzare*. On the contrary, Father Garrucci, in his short notice of 1861, attributes the merit of having recognised Sophocles in the Lateran statue to an antiquary, or rather a dealer in antiques, called Luigi Vescovali. Finally, according to an oral tradition gathered in 1867 by Benndorf and Schöne, the sculptor Pietro Tenerani is said to have been the first to call attention to the beautiful workmanship of the statue.

We are not expressly told that Tenerani was also the first to *identify* the statue, but at any rate he accepted, without controversy, the proposed identification, and largely contributed to propagate it. In fact he was the artist entrusted with the task of restoring the 'Sophocles,' a task which he carried out with as much skill as taste. The restoration includes the nose, part of the brows, right cheek, moustache and hair, the right hand, the whole feet and a piece of the lower flap of the drapery. Tenerani also supplied the *scrinium* or volume-case placed at the foot of the statue: this last addition may have been suggested by the statue of Aeschines at Naples, the resemblance of which to our marble had been immediately noticed. However, by adding the volume-case to the Lateran statue upon his own authority, Tenerani stamped it implicitly as the portrait of a 'man of intellect,' and, strange to say, certain critics have been thoughtless enough to seek, in this entirely modern detail, an argument in favour of the traditional denomination.<sup>4</sup>

### III

Be this as it may, these points of history offer but an anecdotic interest. The main issue is to ascertain on what arguments is based the identification, which, since the day when it was first publicly suggested (December 9th, 1839), has never, as far as I know, been seriously contradicted.<sup>5</sup>

If we go through the long series of articles and memoirs published about our statue, from the first and thorough study of Welcker (1846) to the most recent histories of Greek portraiture, not omitting the standard works of the Germans

<sup>4a</sup> Whether the *scrinium* was rightly restored is a difficult question. According to Birt (*die Buchrolle in der Kunst*, p. 292) this does not appear before the Hellenistic age. If, as shown later, the effigy is that of Solon, an *ἀξων* would have been the proper accessory.

<sup>5</sup> See, however, Sal. Reinach on Clarac, *Répertoire*, I. p. lix, Pl. 510, No. 3: 'n'est pas Sophocle.' I remember also doubts expressed by Prof. Heuzey in his lessons on Greek costume at the École des Beaux-Arts.

Benndorf and Schöne (1867), and the Swiss Bernoulli (1901), we cannot but be struck by the astounding poverty and weakness of the foundations on which rests an identification so far-reaching in its consequences.

Let us first set aside such sentimental or purely rhetorical motives as the 'triumphal bearing' of the statue, the 'harmonious balance' of features and gesture, the 'serene beauty' of the face, the friendly expression, the joy and pride of life—all particulars which, in the prejudiced eyes of certain critics, clearly express the 'complete man,' the 'universally beloved man' that Sophocles is said to have been: whereas others have vainly searched this same face and this same attitude for any traces of the spiritual life and for the reflected glow of the great tragedian's supreme poetry.

What shall I say of the arguments drawn from the costume? So eager have some critics been to detect a distinctive Sophoclean feature in the careful and exquisite arrangement of the dress, that one of them, a German,<sup>6</sup> insisted in his enthusiasm on the wonderful elegance of the *sandals*, which, as we have seen, are, as well as the feet themselves, entirely the work of the Italian Tenerani!

Finally, no greater stress is to be laid on the fillet, termed for the purpose *taenia*, which binds up the hair. Some have imagined to see therein the symbol of the many dramatic triumphs earned by Sophocles, or the sign of his literary kingship, of his pre-eminence over his two great rivals. True it is that on the authentic images of Sophocles which I shall discuss later on, as well as on the busts of Homer, the headband is never wanting. But it has been rightly pointed out long ago that, on the Lateran statue, the so-called *taenia* is nothing but a narrow ribbon, holding together the abundant locks, as was the fashion among Athenian noblemen until the general adoption of short cut hair. Moreover, for the spectator who looks at our statue in front and from below—and thus it was certainly meant to be viewed—the tiny stripe is utterly invisible!

What remains then in favour of the proposed identification? a single palpable argument, indefinitely repeated since the day when Melchiorri first stated it: that is, the resemblance which is *supposed* to exist between the head of our statue and a very small bust in the *Sala delle Muse* of the Vatican (No. 492), the *provenance* of which is the garden *dei Mendicanti*<sup>7</sup> (Fig. 3). This Roman bust—for it is not properly a *herm*—ends in a sort of shelf, broken on the left side, on which one can still read the letters . . . ΟΚΛΗΣ, that is to say, considering the available space, most likely ΣΟΦ]ΟΚΛΗΣ.

Such is, as confessed by Welcker,<sup>8</sup> the only material basis on which rests the traditional identification (*guidati dal solo busto Vaticano*). What is this basis worth? Exactly as much as the pretended likeness. Now this likeness appears to me, and will appear to every unprepossessed judge, quite faint and insignificant. It is nothing more than the family air which, of necessity, exists between all unrealistic representations of well-born Athenians, forty or fifty years of age, carved towards the end of the fifth century B.C. In the series of

<sup>6</sup> Amelung, *Moderner Cicerone*, p. 341.

conti, *Museo Pio Clementino*, vi. Pl. 27.

<sup>7</sup> Found 1778; first published by Vis-

<sup>8</sup> *Annali dell' Istituto*, 1846, p. 129 foll.



the Attic funeral *stelae* of those times, it is easy to find a dozen male heads, belonging to the same type,<sup>9</sup> and presenting, like the Lateran head and the Vatican head, regular features without any marked individuality, plentiful hair, and a full beard divided into thick locks.

To postulate a special connexion, whether of descent or kinship, between two specimens of such a widely multiplied type, a close comparison ought to reveal some really characteristic parallels. Now, what we find is exactly the contrary. Though small and of slovenly workmanship, the Vatican bust, when carefully examined, shows features far more individualised than the Lateran head. The loftier skull gives a more elongated outline; the folds of the forehead, more strongly stamped, are those of an older man; the middle



FIG. 2.—HEAD OF THE LATERAN  
'SOPHOCLES.'



FIG. 3.—SOPHOCLES? BUST  
IN THE VATICAN, SALA  
DELLE MUSE.

locks of the beard are broader, the eyes more deeply sunk in their sockets, the arch of the brows somewhat higher and more pointed, and all this combines to give the Vatican head a distinctly thoughtful, almost sulky expression, sharply contrasting with the haughty serenity which pervades the Lateran head.

Several of these differences have already been noted with his usual fairness and not without disquiet by Bernoulli. However, he ended in conforming—though not without hesitation—to the common opinion, relying, as he says, 'upon the general character of the two heads and upon certain concordances in the arrangement of the hair and beard.' I, for my part, can only see, in such a conclusion, or rather capitulation, the mighty effect of routine, and an

<sup>9</sup> See, for instance, the well-known stele of Prokles and Prokleides in Athens, with two heads of this style.

undue respect for German infallibility. My own conclusion, on the contrary, is that there is no reason whatever to suppose that both heads are derived from one and the same original, and several reasons to incline to the contrary. So that, even if the poor bust of the Vatican was the only certified portrait of Sophocles, we would be quite unwarranted in inscribing the same name under the Lateran statue. But, as we shall see, this is not the case. To these negative arguments I shall now add other reasons, of a positive character, that will help to make the traditional designation not only improbable, but impossible.

## IV

If the Vatican bust is the pretended front-rank man of a series of anonymous heads grouped by Bernoulli under the heading 'Sophocles, Lateran type,' there exist, next to it, two other ancient marbles, equally certified as portraits of Sophocles by inscriptions of undoubted genuineness.

One is the medallion or marble shield (*imago clipeata*), found in a tomb near the Porta Aurelia, which, from the old collection of Fulvio Orsini, passed into the Farnese cabinet (Fig. 4). It is mentioned in an inventory of the Villa Farnesina dated 1775, and, E. Q. Visconti declares he still saw it there.<sup>10</sup> Since then it has unfortunately disappeared, but it is known by two engravings, the latter of which, due to Galle, seems fairly trustworthy<sup>11</sup>; here the shield bears in full the name  $\Sigma\Phi\Omega\Kappa\Lambda\eta\varsigma$ .



FIG. 4.—SOPHOCLES. LOST MARBLE MEDALLION OF THE FARNESE CABINET.

(After the Engraving by Galle.)

The other document is a small herm (Fig. 5), formerly placed in the gardens of the Vatican and since 1896 transferred to the Belvedere (Amelung, No. 69 B). Here the inscription  $\Sigma\Phi\Omega\Kappa\Lambda\eta\varsigma$  is still entirely legible; the head is much worn and damaged, but what remains is enough to show a close resemblance with the engraved medallion.

Thus, these two monuments have become in their turn the front-rank men of a series of anonymous replicas, christened by Bernoulli 'Sophocles of the Farnese type.'<sup>12</sup> Among them are specially to be noted: (1) two double herms, one in Dresden, the other in Bonn, in which the head of Euripides is associated with another head, most probably that of Sophocles<sup>12</sup>; and (2) the fine herm, almost perfectly preserved, coming from the vicinity of Albano,

<sup>10</sup> *Iconogr. grecque*, i. 107.

<sup>11</sup> 1st publication: Ursinus, *Imagines* (1570), p. 25; 2nd publication: Ursinus, *Illustrium Imagines* (1598), Pl. 136. See Hülsen, *Die Hermeninschriften*, etc., in *Ath. Mitth.* xvi. (1901), p. 123 foll; No. 40.

<sup>12a</sup> To the list (21 numbers) given by Bernoulli (l. 129 foll.) Arndt adds now two

new instances in private collections at Jaffa and Munich.

<sup>12</sup> I say *probably*, because, strange to say, Euripides is also sometimes associated with Solon (his countryman from Salamis, and, like him, a Sage); for instance, in a herm of Velletri, now at Naples (Bernoulli, i. p. 38).

which we can admire in the British Museum (Fig. 6; No. 1831 of Smith's *Catalogue*).

The common characteristics of all these heads are, first of all, the very conspicuous 'Homeric' fillet, binding the hair: then, the long moustache with

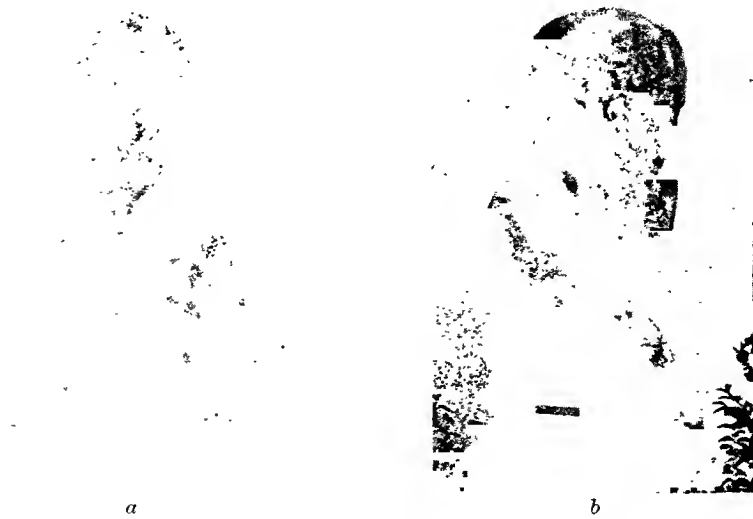


FIG. 5.—SOPHOCLES. HERM IN THE BELVEDERE OF THE VATICAN.

its two branches falling down to the chin, the forehead furrowed with deep folds, the countenance of at least a sexagenary, the downcast glance, the meditative aspect; last and chiefly, the peculiar design of the eyebrows: first rising sharply, then dropping abruptly towards the temples, a stroke already hinted at in the Vatican bust, but here more forcibly marked and conferring upon the expression, to use the words of Friederichs and Wolters, a 'touch of grandeur.' All these details contrast strongly with the countenance of the Lateran head, whose low and softly rounded eyebrows contribute so much to the expression of benevolence and mildness, mixed with self-consciousness.

FIG. 6.—SOPHOCLES.  
ALBANO BUST, BRITISH  
MUSEUM.

Of course, such and other characteristic differences did not escape the keen observation of Bernoulli. 'Height of the forehead, eyes, nose, mouth,' says he, '*everything* differs between the two types.' How then was such an impassable gulf to be bridged over? In his fixed determination to reconcile all facts, Bernoulli is compelled to have recourse to a desperate hypothesis: namely, the existence of *two* original portraits of Sophocles, quite independent of each other, which are supposed to have become respectively the fountain-heads of the Farnese and the

Lateran type. The former portrait, representing an *aged* Sophocles, may have originated at the beginning of the fourth century, when the remembrance of the poet's outward appearance was still vivid. The later portrait, more strongly idealised, showing a *youthful* Sophocles, is supposed to have sprung up about fifty years later, as an original creation inspired not by any iconographic tradition, but by the literary image of the poet as it impressed itself upon the minds of a younger generation. Other archaeologists, going still further in their preciseness,<sup>13</sup> give us as the ancestor of the Farnese type the statue of Sophocles erected by his son Iophon, and as the ancestor of the Lateran type, either the Lyeurgus statue or a supposed work of Silanion.<sup>14</sup>

It is useless to dwell on the arbitrary and improbable character of all these suppositions. That is romance, not history. The statue of Iophon, as we have seen, is a myth; that of Silanion, a dream; as to the statue of Lyeurgus, the only one duly testified, we have no reason to believe that the artist tried to idealise in it more than usual, and specially to dip Sophocles in a bath of youth, when we see how faithfully the contemporary statue of Euripides reproduces the worn-out countenance of the philosopher-poet, when we know that nothing was deeper engraved in the memory of the later Athenians than the splendid old age reached by Sophocles in which he had still reaped so many triumphs. All in all, it would have seemed as unfitting to represent in the theatre of Dionysos a *youthful* Sophocles as, in our own days, to set up in the Théâtre Français at Paris a Victor Hugo aged thirty or thereabouts.

The only thing to be gathered from Bernoulli's intricate discussion is this candid confession, which I quote in his own words: 'The Lateran Sophocles gives the idea, not only of a younger man but of *quite another person altogether* than the Farnese Sophocles.' And again: 'It is almost against my will that I have come to this conclusion. Elsewhere, I have disputed, as a thing beyond analogy or probability, the hypothesis of several distinct types for one and the same person. If also in the present case such a theory were to be disposed of as inadmissible, *the mistake ought to be looked for, not in the Farnese, but in the Lateran type.*'

Here at last we are touching the truth. Bernoulli, as one sees, was on the way to it; he only lacked courage and independence from his German masters to grasp it. We need surely not show the same scruples. Having proved, on the one hand, that the Farnese type (Orsini medallion, Belvedere herm) *certainly* represents Sophocles, on the other hand, that this type is practically irreducible to that of the Lateran statue, we shall simply draw the inference that this last represents *another person than Sophocles*. Or, to put it in other words, having tested all the foundation stones of the traditional denomination and found them all unsound, we may conclude that it is nothing more than one of the most remarkable instances of literary *psittacism* in the story of classical scholarship.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Delbruck, *Antike Porträts* (1912).

<sup>14</sup> Winter.

<sup>15</sup> If any one still insists on the distant analogy of the Vatican bust, we shall answer that such a trivial work, which

must have been ordered from some cheap figure carver, by a Roman amateur, eager to get a set of literary busts with more or less arbitrary inscriptions, cannot seriously be taken into account in an *iconographic*

## V

So far we have pulled down the old fabric : the question is now to rebuild. If the Lateran statue is not Sophocles, whom, then, does it represent ?

In approaching this new problem, I shall not begin with considerations of likeness, which are often fallacious, especially when we have to deal with effigies designed a long time *post mortem*. Let us remember the words of the elder Pliny : *pariunt desideria non traditos voltus*.<sup>16</sup> The right method, when we have the rare luck to deal with a full-size statue, is to endeavour to determine first of all from the general attitude to what group, to what social or intellectual class the person represented belonged. Everybody knows what high importance and subtle significance the Greek artist laid on the general aspect, the garb, the gait and the gesture of a figure, as means to express the class, profession, *ethos* and *pathos* of a man.

That we have before us a public monument, a statue set up for a remarkable citizen, cannot be doubted. But to what social category of public men did this great citizen belong ? He cannot be a general—for then he would wear military cloak and helmet—nor a philosopher, who would dress and pose with far less ostentation. Neither can he be a poet, be it Sophocles or any other, and it is incredible that so many have made the mistake.

Let us review the rather numerous figures of Greek poets represented in ancient art, which have been collected by Otto Jahn, Sieveking and others. Most of them are shown seated.<sup>17</sup> If the poet is standing he is usually playing the lyre, like Sappho and Alcaeus on vases, unless the artist wanted to show him staggering in drunkenness, like Anacreon.

As a rule, he is characterised by some accessory, indicative of his calling : thus the *barbitos* of the Lesbian poets, or the mask which the Euripides of Naples holds in his hands. The head has a thoughtful expression, the look turned towards the inner world, as in the portraits of Euripides and Aeschylus, or raised towards the world above, as in the face of the blind seer Homer, that admirable creation of the Rhodian school.

Do we find the slightest analogy between all these figures and the personage of the Lateran statue, with his solemn pose, his slight corpulence, his arched chest, his arms wrapped up in the folds of the *himation*, and, above all, with that proud head, slightly thrown back, and that glance neither downcast nor upraised, still less dreaming, as my countryman, Collignon, fancied, but looking straight before him with an air of authority, almost of command ? No, this man is facing an audience, which we must fancy standing in the distance or seated on several tiers of benches : hence the direction of the glance rises somewhat above the horizontal, in order to reach the spectators perched on the

problem. Moreover, under its slovenly workmanship, in which all distinctive features are blurred, we have nevertheless noticed above several details, especially the design of the eyebrows, showing characters more akin to the Farnese series than to the Lateran statue.

<sup>16</sup> *Hist. Nat.* xxxv. 9.

<sup>17</sup> Reliefs of Euripides in Constantinople, of Menander in the Lateran ; statues of Poseidippos (Vatican), Moschion (Naples), Sappho (Constantinople, mentioned by Christodorus), etc.

upper seats. Such an attitude does not suit a meditative person, a solitary thinker, a poet absorbed by his mental vision, nor is it the bearing of a prophet (*uomo chi profetizza*), as Welcker once thought. It is, simply and distinctly, the attitude of an orator, conjured up in his characteristic gesture, addressing or about to address the crowd gathered in the Pnyx or in the theatre, which is listening to him, breathless, attentive and already conquered.

## VI

Here then we have the first word of the riddle, for such an evident truth needs only utterance in order to convince. We have certainly before us an orator, and, let us add immediately, an orator of the good old time, as is proved by the costume, or rather by the fashion of wearing it.

True it is that the posture and the style of dress—both arms wrapped up in the mantle, the left arm bent back behind the hip, the right hand laid on the chest and supported by the broad folds from which emerge only the finger tips—this *ensemble* is not by itself characteristic of a calling: such was, to quote Welcker again, the normal deportment of a well-bred Athenian in the fifth century B.C.,<sup>18</sup> who, once properly wrapped in his mantle, would have made a case of conscience of disturbing a single fold.<sup>19</sup>

But such a manner of wearing the dress, customary in the fifth century B.C., was thoroughly antiquated in the next century. It continued in use only in the case of boys, for whom it remained a mark of decency and good bearing,<sup>20</sup> as may be illustrated, for instance, by the fine ephebic statue from Eretria (Fig. 7). Not so with the grown-up. People were surprised when they saw a man like Phocion clinging to the old custom and for ever keeping his arm wrapped in his *himation*.<sup>21</sup>

In particular, as far as parliamentary manners are concerned, that attitude, which had been the fashion or even the rule, of orators in the fifth century, was in the fourth discarded as an affectation of archaism. Says Aeschines in his speech against Timarchus (343 B.C.)<sup>22</sup>: 'The older orators, Pericles,



FIG. 7.—EPHEBE, FROM  
ERETRIA.  
ATHENS, NATIONAL MUSEUM.

<sup>18</sup> By imitation this attitude was perpetuated in works of art until Roman times (see, for instance, the statue of Epidauros, Collignon, *Rev. arch.* 1915, i. p. 40). On the 'motif' in general compare Bulle in his commentary of the statue of Eretria (Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 519), who goes, however, quite astray in the dating of the Lateran statue.

<sup>19</sup> Robert, *Archäol. Hermeneutik*, p. 131.

<sup>20</sup> Dio Chrysostom. xxxvi. 7, and other passages quoted by Sittl, *Gebärden*, p. 7.

<sup>21</sup> Plut. *Phoc.* 4. Here and elsewhere, as is shown by Quintilian (below), *χεῖρ* means *arm*, not *hand*.

<sup>22</sup> *Orat. At.* ii. 34, § 25 Did.

Themistocles, Aristides the Just, were so careful of propriety,<sup>23</sup> that to speak with the arm outside the mantle, as we all do nowadays,<sup>24</sup> seemed to them an ill-mannered thing, and one which they all refrained from doing.' So it is only the orators of the old age that Quintilian alludes to when he writes<sup>25</sup>: '*quorum brachium, sicut Graecorum, veste continebatur.*' In the fourth century not all orators were quite as unceremonious as Timarchus, who actually threw his mantle away and spoke in a plain tunic. Most of them were content with the attitude which we notice in the statues of Demosthenes, derived from the original of Polyeuctus: they rolled the upper part of the *himation* around their waist and threw up the end of the flap over their left shoulder, so as to leave their breast bare, that is to say, merely clothed with the tunic; the right arm, quite free, was used to punctuate the speech with appropriate gestures (Fig. 8).



FIG. 8.—DEMOSTHENES.  
VATICAN.

This is the arrangement which Aristotle has in mind in the work so happily restored to the world by Sir Frederick Kenyon, when he writes that Cleon was the first to address the people with his mantle "used as a belt (or sash)," <sup>26</sup> whereas the former orators had observed decorum,<sup>27</sup> which 'decorum' consisted precisely in keeping the arm in the mantle and under no pretence disturbing the folds, even in the most pathetic passages of a speech; such was still the practice of Pericles, as is expressly noticed by Plutarch, quite in agreement with Aeschines.<sup>28</sup> But after the Peloponnesian war the new fashion universally prevailed.

Such being the case, it seems hopeless to seek for the model of our statue among the orators of the fourth century. There is, however, one notable exception to be considered. Among these orators there was one, and only one, who sometimes spoke in public, attired according to the ancient fashion; this was Aeschines. I say (sometimes) because he himself at first seems to have usually conformed to the more recent mode, as above quoted: 'as we all do.' But we see, by other evidence, that Aeschines occasionally made a point of reviving on the tribune the classical attitude of which he had sung the praise.

In the speech on the False Embassy (341 B.C.) Demosthenes, alluding to the same passage of the speech against Timarchus, exclaims: 'Such is the tale that Aeschines told the judges, and he even mimicked the attitude thus described by him;' <sup>29</sup> and further: 'the question is not, Aeschines, to speak with the arm in your mantle, but to carry out your embassy in that modest

<sup>23</sup> οὕτω σώφρονες.

<sup>24</sup> ὁ νυνὶ πάντες ἐν ἔθει πράττομεν, τὸ τὴν χεῖρα ἔξω ἔχοντες λέγειν.

<sup>25</sup> *Instit. Orat.* xi. 3, 130.

<sup>26</sup> περιζωσάμενος (*Const. Ath.* 28). Cp. Plut. *Nicias*, 8: περισπάσας τὸ ἱμάτιον.

<sup>27</sup> τῶν ἁλλων ἐν κόσμῳ λεγόντων.

<sup>28</sup> Pericles, 5; *Præc. ger. reip.* 4.

<sup>29</sup> *De falsa legat.* 251: τοῦτο μὲν τοίνυν εἶπε τοῖς δικασταῖς καὶ ἐμυμήσατο.

way.' <sup>30</sup> Lastly, in the *De Corona*,<sup>31</sup> he calls his opponent 'that fine statue,' and commentators have rightly interpreted these words as an ironical allusion to the old-fashioned bearing, the sober gesture, the almost motionless attitude which Aeschines sometimes affected on the tribune, and which most likely he had still more cultivated and exaggerated since his famous outburst against Timarchus.

So we understand why the sculptor who immortalised the features of Aeschines in the statue of which a copy was found at Herculaneum <sup>32</sup> (Fig. 9) has represented him in the classical attitude with which his name was associated. The statue of Naples is draped exactly like that of the Lateran, though with somewhat more simplicity. Aeschines is standing still, whereas the orator of the Lateran is speaking or about to speak.

The family air of the two statues is too striking to have escaped the notice of commentators. Most of them, from the first, have dwelt on it, and the only astonishing fact is that, having recognised an orator in the motionless figure of Naples, they failed to recognise one, far more plainly, in the statue of the Lateran, which seems to move towards us and almost to open its lips!

But, I hasten to say, the resemblance is confined to the attitude. If we compare the heads of our two statues, there is not the slightest possibility that the Lateran statue should represent Aeschines. Look at the full, fleshy face of the latter, as it is distinctly shown as well in the statue at Naples as in the inscribed Vatican herm which served to identify the full-size effigy. We have before us a modern politician (to use a word of Collignon) trying to look as calm and friendly and smiling as possible, but without a touch of pride or real grandeur. Look at the Lateran statue and measure the difference. As has been wittily said,<sup>33</sup> next to the so-called Sophocles, Aeschines looks like a *bourgeois* by the side of a king.

Now, as Aeschines was the *only* orator in the fourth century to keep up the ancient garb, we must dismiss the fourth century altogether and go farther back to find the original of our statue, that is, before the innovation of Cleon.



FIG. 9.—AESCHINES. STATUE FROM HERCULANEUM, NAPLES MUSEUM.

## VII

Can it possibly be an orator of the fifth century B.C.? We need only go through the list of the leaders of the Athenian people, given by Aristotle,<sup>34</sup> to know the contrary.

<sup>30</sup> *De falsa legat.* 255.

<sup>31</sup> *De coron.* 129.

<sup>32</sup> Formerly called Aristides, identified in 1834 by L. Visconti, thanks to the Vatican (inscribed) herm, *Sala delle Muse*, 502.

<sup>33</sup> La Blanchère, *op. cit.*, p. 137. But he ought not to have added that the *attitude* is similar to one of a man 'putting his hands in his pockets.'

<sup>34</sup> *Const. Ath.* 28.



All great orators of that period, with the sole exception of Ephialtes, who cannot be taken into account, were, at the same time, illustrious warriors, and this last quality overweighed so much, in general opinion, the merit of eloquence that, if they had been gratified with public statues, these great statesmen would certainly have been represented clad with the cloak and helmet of the *strategus*. But, as a matter of fact, we know by the distinct evidence of Demosthenes that no such statue was ever erected to an Athenian Commander, before that of Conon.<sup>35</sup>

Thus, we must take a new step backwards and extend our inquiry to the sixth century B.C.

Here we meet with two possible names: Cleisthenes and Solon. But, though modern criticism has recognised in Cleisthenes the real founder of Athenian democracy, for the Athenians themselves his fame was quite thrown into the shade by that of Solon: no statue of Cleisthenes is ever mentioned.

Solon, in the eyes of the fourth-century Athenians, assumed gradually the shape of a national hero, of a kind of second Theseus. All existing laws, even those which were certainly much younger than his time, were given under his name. The constitution he had framed, so moderate and verging on plutocracy, was held for the groundwork of the now restored democracy. Although no documents of his oratory, but only of his poetry, had survived, legend made him the prototype of a great popular orator. For all these reasons, it was natural that his statue should be erected in some outburst of national gratitude, and such was actually the case.

We know of two public statues of Solon, both in bronze, which were set up in the course of the fourth century B.C.: one in the agora of Athens, in front of the *Stoa Poecile* (Overbeck, 1398-1401), the other in the agora of Salamis (Overbeck, 1395-1397), either because this island was supposed to be his birthplace, or because his fiery exhortations had driven the Athenians to reconquer that valuable possession.

Of the statue in Athens we know nothing, not even its exact date.<sup>36</sup>

Concerning the statue in Salamis, which seems to have been the older and more famous of the two, we have definite information.

Aeschines, after having recalled, in a passage already quoted, the custom of ancient orators of speaking with their arm wrapped up in the mantle, proceeds thus:

‘And of that fact I can give you a striking proof. You have all of you, I suppose, crossed over to Salamis and looked at the statue of Solon. So you could all bear witness that in the agora of Salamis, Solon is figured with his arm inside his mantle;<sup>37</sup> this, Athenians, is a record and a likeness of the attitude which Solon observed when he used to address the people of Athens.’

<sup>35</sup> *C. Leptin*. 70 (Overbeck, 1393). The *private* statues of the fifth century, from which derive the herms of Themistocles, Pericles, Alcibiades, are all helmeted.

<sup>36</sup> It is first mentioned by the Pseudo-Demosthenes (*C. Aristog.* ii. 23, p. 807) in

a speech delivered under Alexander. The words used point to a recent dedication; the statue probably did not exist at the time of Aeschines's speech against Timarchus.

<sup>37</sup> ἐν τῷ δὲ τῇν χεῖρα ἐχων.

From this passage, we can immediately draw two weighty consequences :

(1) In the statue of Salamis, Solon was shown in the posture of an old-fashioned orator, his arms entirely wrapped up in the *himation*, that is, exactly like the statue of the Lateran.

(2) If Aeschines, wishing to support by a plastic example his description and praise of the stately bearing of the older orators, is compelled to go as far back as Solon and his statue in Salamis, the inference is, that at this date (343 B.C.) there existed in Athens *no* other public statue representing a statesman in that attitude, and that even the statue of Solon in the city, which was most likely a copy of the Salamis one, had not yet been cast.

If we know from Aeschines the pose of the Salamis statue, and from Diogenes Laertius the epigram which was inscribed on the base,<sup>38</sup> we owe to Demosthenes a valuable piece of information concerning the time of its erection. Let us reopen the speech on the False Embassy (341 B.C.). Demosthenes charges Aeschines, among other misdemeanours, with having deceived the Athenians by giving them (in the aforesaid speech against Timarchus), as an authentic proof of the bearing of ancient orators, the statue of Solon in Salamis. He continues thus : ' And yet the people of Salamis tell us that this statue has not been standing there for more than fifty years, whereas 240 years have elapsed between Solon and our own time. So that, not only the sculptor himself, who selected that attitude, but even his grandfather, was not a contemporary of Solon.' <sup>39</sup> The fifty years or so, elapsed between the speech on the False Embassy and the casting of the statue of Salamis, bring us, for the latter, to about the year 391 B.C.

### VIII

Let us halt a moment to draw some inferences from these well-proven facts.

I think I have shown :

- (1) That the Lateran statue represents, not a poet, but an orator ;
- (2) That this orator, by reason of his dress and attitude, must have lived before the Peloponnesian War ;
- (3) That none of the famous orators of the first two parts of the fifth century had obtained in Athens the honour of a public statue ;
- (4) That among the older orators, Solon is the only one of whom literary tradition mentions a public statue existing in the middle of the fourth century B.C., *i. e.* the time below which we cannot place the original of the Lateran statue ;
- (5) That overwhelming evidence proves the statue which rose on the agora of Salamis to have represented Solon exactly in the posture and dress of the Lateran marble.

This series of facts leads of necessity to the conclusion that we possess in

<sup>38</sup> Diog. La. i. 62.

<sup>39</sup> *De falsa leg.* 251.

the Lateran statue a faithful copy of the Salaminian statue of Solon. I say a copy, because the Lateran statue is in marble, whereas the statue of Salamis was in bronze; we are told so distinctly by the anonymous sophist<sup>40</sup> whose speech *Corinthiacus* has crept into the collection of Dio Chrysostomus's lectures. Otherwise, one might be not disinclined to follow the opinion of some antiquaries who, in their rapture over the Lateran statue, have gone so far as to see in it a true Greek original. Certainly it would be vain to seek in its technical execution any of those marks (so fallacious, in that period) which point to a bronze prototype. Nevertheless, I think that most connoisseurs are right in considering, even for purely archaeological reasons, our statue as a copy, though an excellent one. The back, with the exception of the head, is carved in a somewhat summary fashion, suggesting that, in its original site in Terracina, the statue stood before a wall or in a niche. Such was not the case of public statues set up in the fourth century B.C., and, in particular, of the Salamis statue, which we must fancy rising in the very middle of the market-place and visible from all sides.

On the other hand, no archaeologist will be surprised not to find in a statue of the fourth century, designed about 200 years after the life of the person represented, the archaic type of countenance or dress, which an artist of our own time would have striven to lend to Solon. Considerations of historic or local colour were quite alien to Greek classical art. So the sculptor, who, of course, had no documents whatever concerning the physical appearance of Solon, was wisely content with giving him the somewhat idealised figure of a well-born Athenian of his own time, the dress and attitude of the 'old orators' in general, and the stately, though friendly, expression which befitted the 'Father of the Fatherland,' the man whose verses teem with love of his countrymen and justified self-consciousness.

A comparison will best express my feelings.

Under a copy of Michael Angelo's *Moses*, a philanthropist of our own days had once these words engraved: 'To the greatest of law-givers.' Solon was something like an Athenian Moses. Those who are inclined to sneer at his ideal portraiture by an artist of the early fourth century are the same who, in the presence of the immortal creation of Michael Angelo, would only think of criticising the Jove-like attitude, the superhuman hand and the cataracts of a fluvial beard.

## IX

Let us now, before proceeding further, approach the problem by another way.

I said above that, in posthumous statues of this kind which are not really portraits, too much stress need not be laid on iconographic details or questions of likeness. Nevertheless, it appears that once a physical type was fixed by a

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<sup>40</sup> Dio Chrys., xxxvii. (ii. 293, *Dind.*, it (as Aeschines led his audience to believe) to be contemporary with Solon: τὸ ἐν Salaminι χαλκοῦς ἐστάναι μέγα ποιούμενος. Overbeck, 1397). This man, who had certainly never seen the statue, believes

masterpiece for the features of a great man of the past, it was faithfully copied from generation to generation, as we see by the busts of Homer and Socrates.

Therefore, the hypothesis developed above would be strengthened if we could adduce in its favour a monument showing the same lines as the Lateran head and inscribed by the ancients themselves with the name of Solon.

I believe this to be the case. In the Museum *degli Uffizi* in Florence (*Sala delle Inscrizioni*, 287)<sup>41</sup> there stands, or rather stood, a fine herm of Pentelic marble (Fig. 10), at present (Spring. 1922) exiled for some reason of re-organisation in an almost inaccessible store-room. This herm bears the inscription in late Roman script:  $\Sigma\text{ΟΛΩΝ Ο ΝΟΜΟΘΕΤΗΣ}$ , the genuineness of which is warranted by the most experienced of judges, Professor Kaibel.<sup>42</sup>

Now the head of this herm, very slightly restored (nose, knot of the ribbon), is not only, as it has been sometimes said, distantly similar,<sup>43</sup> but, in the words of the candid Bernoulli,<sup>44</sup> practically identical with that of the Lateran statue. If the original of the herm, as it is natural to suppose, be the Salamis statue of Solon, we have here a documentary proof that the Lateran statue derives from the same source and actually represents the great Athenian law-giver. Such is surely the conclusion which would have been drawn by Ennio Quirino Visconti, the only scholar who has hitherto published this herm<sup>45</sup> (in an indifferent engraving), if he had not died twenty years before the find of Terracina.

Unfortunately, though the genuineness of the inscription, so thoughtlessly put in doubt by the German Braun,<sup>46</sup> is no longer disputed to-day, another German, Dütschke, who closely examined this work, declares that the head, as is so often the case, does not belong to the body, and that the marble of the latter has even been given a colouring to match with the tint of the head. Having succeeded in seeing



FIG. 10.—HERM OF SOLON. FLORENCE, UFFIZI.

<sup>41</sup> Dütschke, *Antike Bildwerke*, etc., iii. 179, No. 363.

<sup>42</sup> *Insc. Sicil.* 1209. Cf. C. I. G. 6110.

<sup>43</sup> Dütschke (*entfernte Ähnlichkeit*).

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<sup>44</sup> *Icon.* i. pp. 38 and 39.

<sup>45</sup> *Iconog. gr.* i. Pl. IX. a, p. 143.

<sup>46</sup> *Bullettino*, 1847, p. 21.

the herm lately, though by very unfavourable light, I can only express my agreement with Dütschke's opinion.<sup>47</sup> However, admitting that bust and head are not of the same material, they may very well have belonged to each other from the beginning; or else, they may have been assembled in classical times by a learned amateur, who knew, from other sources, that this was really the traditional head of Solon. I really see no other explanation of the present combination of head and herm. So there is no reason whatever for putting the case, as is sometimes done, 'the head of Sophocles on a herm of Solon.'

Curiously enough, there exists in the Villa Albani a head of the same type<sup>48</sup> under which has been placed a herm, undoubtedly modern, but equally inscribed with the name of Solon. Bernoulli supposes that this 'forgery' was suggested, in the seventeenth or eighteenth century, by the genuine inscription of the Florentine bust. It follows, at any rate, that in those days, before the discovery of the Lateran statue, most antiquaries agreed to put under the name of Solon, those bearded, filleted, idealised heads, which Bernoulli has grouped under the fallacious denomination 'Sophocles of the Lateran type.'<sup>49</sup> And we now know that these antiquaries were right.

## X.

Let us return to the original of the Lateran statue.

We have seen that it dates from about 391 B.C. This agrees much better with the style of the extant work than the date of *circa* 330 suggested by the imaginary connexion with the 'Sophocles' of Lycurgus. If, indeed, in the humane countenance, in the rather elaborate, not to say fastidious, elegance of the drapery, we feel already, as it were, the approach of the refined age of Praxiteles, on the other hand, the solemn pose, the severe outline of the whole figure and even certain characteristic details of the face (as, for instance, the broad and strong swelling of the lower eyelid), connect our statue very closely with the lofty art of the fifth century. It belongs to that transitional period which includes several of the most admirable sepulchral stelae of the Ceramicus, the average date of which is fixed by the year, exactly known, of the Dexileos monument (394 B.C.).

Are we to stop our inquiry here, or may we go further and attempt to find out the author of the statue as well as its date? Here a happy discovery of Wilhelm Klein will relieve me of long argument. As far back as 1893, in a short contribution to the *Eranos Vindobonensis*,<sup>50</sup> that German scholar discussed a text of the elder Pliny,<sup>51</sup> mentioning among the works of bronze by

<sup>47</sup> Some critics may wonder at the flap of drapery which hangs down the left shoulder and is not continued on the right. But (1) the same arrangement appears on the herm of 'Antisthenes' (Naples, 6155), which is of one block; (2) most likely the right shoulder (left from the spectator) has been badly restored, and should be squarer, showing a bit of drapery twisted round the neck as on the Euripides herm (Naples 6135).

<sup>48</sup> Villa Albani, Coffee House, No. 731 (Bernoulli, p. 137, No. 4).

<sup>49</sup> These are, in addition to the Florence and Albani herms, two herms of the Capitol (Sala dei Filosofi, 33 and 34), one with the modern inscription ΠΙΝΔΑΡΟΣ and a bronze bust in Florence, *Museo Archaeologico*.

<sup>50</sup> *Eranos*, p. 142. Substantially reproduced in his *Praxiteles*, p. 48, and his *Geschichte der griechischen Kunst*, ii. 243.

<sup>51</sup> xxxiv. 87; Overbeck, 1137.

Kephisodotos—the elder of the two sculptors of that name—a statue thus described : *contionantem manu elata, persona in incerto est*. By an emendation as felicitous as obvious, by merely supposing the omission of *one* repeated letter, instead of *manu elata*, Klein writes *manu uelata*, and he finds thus in this *contionans* or ἀγορεύων an official orator, his arm in the mantle, *i. e.* in the attitude of the Solon of Salamis. The coincidence, as well in the subject as in the date, is so perfect that Klein did not hesitate to identify the *contionans* of Pliny with the Solon of Salamis, whose further identity with the Lateran ‘Sophocles’ he, however, failed to perceive.

Klein’s theory met with contradiction.<sup>52</sup> It has been objected that if the *contionans* were the famous statue of Salamis, it would not be easy to understand why the compiler adds : ‘the person represented is uncertain.’ One can answer with Klein himself by reminding the reader of the controversy waged between Aeschines and Demosthenes concerning the genuineness of the portrait of Solon, *i. e.* whether the sculptor had the opportunity of knowing and reproducing the features of his model. That discussion, which had passed into the rhetorical schools, may well have been deformed little by little, so as to become, in Pliny’s notes, a controversy concerning the identity of the person represented.

It may also be answered—and for my part I should prefer to answer—that the statue of Salamis, as many other bronzes, was ultimately taken down from its pedestal, and carried away to adorn an Hellenistic residence or a palace of Rome. Then the basis, with the inscription still preserved by Diogenes Laertius, remained standing *in situ*, as was, for instance, the case with the statue of Sappho by Silanion, which Verres stole from the Prytaneum in Syracuse.<sup>53</sup> The statue thus became anonymous, though still inscribed with the signature of Kephisodotos, and henceforth, in the inventories of the quaestors or in the works on archaeology, it was, like so many statues of athletes which had undergone the same adventure, merely designated by the gesture of the personage : ‘the orator with his arm wrapped up.’

Admitting this, the emendation of Klein really seems convincing. Not only is the reading of the MSS., *elata manu*, of rather dubious latinity,<sup>54</sup> but the gesture which it indicates, that of an orator speaking with his arm uplifted, is unknown in Greek art and literature. It is only met with in the imperial Roman period, and even then seems specially reserved for the *allocutio* of the commander-in-chief; thus we see it given on several monuments to the emperors, or to certain warlike divinities such as Mars and Minerva.<sup>55</sup> In Greek art, on the contrary, the uplifted arm is only and always the expression of amazement.<sup>56</sup> Even in more recent times, when the orator’s arm was

<sup>52</sup> Milchhöfer, Gurlitt, etc. It was adopted by Collignon (ii. 184), who, however, did not draw the necessary inference.

<sup>53</sup> Cicero, *Verr.* iv. 57, 126 (Overbeck, 1355).

<sup>54</sup> *erecta* would be the proper word. See, however, Ammianus, xxvi. 2, 5: *elata prospere dextra*.

<sup>55</sup> Statues of Augustus (*Prima porta*),

Titus (Vatican); Gallienus on medals, etc. Comp. Sittl, *Gebärden*, p. 303. The *arrington* at Florence is of doubtful interpretation.

<sup>56</sup> See the Marsyas of Myron, the Blacas vase, the Heracles vase of Assteas, etc. Vainly did Milchhöfer try to find an orator in the Arcadian relief, *Ath. Mitt.* vi. 51; Sittl, *loc. cit.*

disengaged from the cloak and remained free for gesticulation, Quintilian, following, as it seems, later Greek rhetors, ridicules the barrister who raises his arm *ad lectum*.<sup>57</sup>

It is therefore unthinkable that, in the beginning of the fourth century B.C. Kephisodotos should have represented an official orator in such an attitude. This is so clear that certain commentators before Klein supposed Pliny or his authority to have been guilty of misinterpretation. Poor Pliny was accused of having mistaken a personage in the act of prayer for an orator;<sup>58</sup> but even prayer in Greek life and art does not admit of that gesture.

On the other hand, the expression *manu uelata*, though not supported, as far as I am aware, by an identical instance, finds close parallels in Latin literature.<sup>59</sup> At any rate, nothing is more natural than to suppose a *manus uelata* in the figure carved by Kephisodotos, nothing more natural than the clerical error of the Plinian copyists, familiar with statues of emperors raising the arm and unfamiliar with Greek orators wrapped up according to the ancient fashion.



FIG. 11.—CHRIST. (From the Berlin Sarcophagus.)

Let me add that the date which we have ascertained for the erection of the Solon statue in Salamis (391 B.C.) agrees perfectly with the known data of the artistic activity of Kephisodotos. His oldest testified work (Overbeck, 1141) is the altar in the temple of Zeus Soter in Peiraeus, which appears to have been dedicated after the battle of Cnidus (394 B.C.), the most recent one (Overbeck, 1140) is a statue in a temple of Megalopolis, a city founded in 372 or 371 B.C.<sup>60</sup>

We cannot determine the date of his famous group of the goddess of Peace, nursing the infant god Plutos, which has come down to us in the fine replica of Munich.<sup>61</sup> This beautiful statue was, until now, the only evidence that we possessed of the manner of Kephisodotos: the drapery with its fluted folds, the full and dignified proportions still keep his style close to the tradition of Phidias and the *korai* of the Erechtheion; but the motherly motive, the sweet and friendly countenance of the goddess inclining her head towards the child, already promises the Hermes of Olympia, the subject of which, as is well known, Kephisodotos had also anticipated.

<sup>57</sup> *Instit. orat.* xi. 3. 117. Comp. Augustine, *In Iohannem*, 87, 2.

<sup>58</sup> Milchhöfer, *Festschrift für Brunn*, p. 39.

<sup>59</sup> Ovid, *Fast.* vi. 412 (*pede uelato*). In prose (Livy, v. 21) as well as in poetry, *uelatus* stands for *amictus*.

<sup>60</sup> The career of Kephisodotos, according to Pliny (ol. 102, 372–69 B.C.), culminated

perhaps in this work. In fact he must have been then an old man.

<sup>61</sup> Commonly dated 374 (on account of the sacrifices instituted for Eirene, Isocrat. xv. 109; Nepos, *Timoth.* 2), but this date is now disputed by many (Klein, *op cit.*, Ducati, *Rev. arch.* 1906, i. p. 111), who go back as far as 403.

'By his style,' Collignon most justly writes,<sup>62</sup> 'he is a conservative, respectful of the past; by the nature of the subjects he treats, by the feeling which pervades them, he may already be reckoned among the interpreters of the new spirit.'

That appreciation applies almost word for word to the statue of the Lateran and confirms, if confirmation is necessary, its attribution to Kephisodotos.

Thus, thanks to the discovery of Klein, supplemented by our own identification of the Lateran and Salamis statues, we are now enabled to illustrate by a new and splendid instance the talent of the gifted artist, whose son and pupil seems to have been Praxiteles.<sup>63</sup> Already known as the creator of the first monumental allegorical group, Kephisodotos now also appears as the author of the first and finest commemorative portrait statue in the history of Greek sculpture. And by a curious coincidence, the man to whom Christian art is indebted for the prototype of the motherly Madonna is the same who gave us the noble prototype of the 'doctor' Christ, that law-giver of the early Middle Ages (Fig. 11).<sup>64</sup>

Hellenic scholars will perhaps relinquish with regret the illusion of possessing a life-sized portrait of their favourite tragic poet, but I hope they will find some comfort in recovering, or rather recognising, a new work by the great master who stands out more and more as the herald of a new dawn of art, as the real link between the divine Phidias and the divine Praxiteles.

THEODORE REINACH.

<sup>62</sup> *Hist.* ii. 184.

<sup>63</sup> The old hypothesis, founded on the name of one of Praxiteles's sons, is more likely than Furtwängler's theory, which makes Kephisodotos the elder brother of Praxiteles. If such was the case, why should historians give Phocion as the brother-in-law of *Kephisodotos* (Plut. *Phoc.* 19) rather than of the far more famous Praxiteles?

<sup>64</sup> Compare, among others, the Byzantine ivory *ap. Cahier, Mélanges*, iv. 75, a figure in the cemetery of Praetextatus, another

one on a sarcophagus of the fourth century at Clermont (these two quoted by Bréhier, *L'art chrétien*, p. 53, who aptly compares them with the Lateran statue), the Christ on a sarcophagus of the 'Sidamara type' in the Berlin Museum (Post, *History of Sculpture*, Fig. 1), etc. Bréhier shows that this same type was adopted for the figure of Buddha on early Greco-indian monuments of Gandhara and Bactriana, such as the gold coin of Kanerkes (Kanishka), *Br. Mus. Cat. of Indian Coins*, Pl. XXVI, 8.



## CITHAROEDUS

[PLATES II.—V.]

THE vase reproduced on Pl. II. and in Figs. 1 and 2 was sold by Messrs. Sotheby in the summer of 1919, and is now in the collection of Mr. William Randolph Hearst of New York. It is unbroken and well preserved. The height is sixteen inches and a half, say forty-two centimetres. Photographs of both sides were published in the sale catalogue;<sup>1</sup> but the drawings from which Pl. II. has been made have not been published before.

The shape of the vase is not a common one. It is a kind of amphora; and I use the word amphora, unqualified, to cover all those types in which the neck passes into the body with a gradual curve; instead of being set sharply off, as it is in the neck-amphorae, in the amphora of Panathenaic shape, and in the amphora with pointed foot.

Three types of amphora were used by the makers of red-figured vases. Type A,<sup>2</sup> which has flanged handles and a foot in two degrees, is used by black-figure painters as early as the middle of the sixth century, is a favourite with the painters of the archaic red-figured period, and disappears about 460. Type B,<sup>3</sup> which has cylindrical handles and a foot in the form of an inverted echinus, is older than type A; for it is used by Attic painters at the very beginning of the sixth century.<sup>4</sup> It survives type A, but not for long: the latest specimens date from the period of the vase-painter Polygnotos.<sup>5</sup> The amphorae of type C, the type to which our vase belongs, are smaller than most of the other amphorae, ranging from about 37 to 43 centimetres in height. The body is of the same shape as in the other types, but narrower: the principal characteristic is the mouth, which instead of being concave with a strong flare, as in types A and B, is convex with the lower diameter only slightly shorter than the upper. The foot is sometimes shaped like an inverted echinus as in type B; and sometimes, just as in certain neck-amphorae, torus-shaped, with a cushion between foot and base. Our vase has the echinus foot.

Type C first appears in the so-called affected class, a class of Attic black-

<sup>1</sup> *Sale Catalogue, Sotheby, May 22-23, 1919, No. 270 and Pl. 11.* Miss Richter kindly confirmed my belief that the vase had passed into the Hearst collection. Height of the figures, 21.5 centimetres.

<sup>2</sup> Lau, *Griechische Vasen*, Pl. 12, 1; Furtwängler-Reichhold, i. p. 266; Caskey, *Geometry of Greek Vases*, pp. 60 and 61.

<sup>3</sup> Lau, Pl. 11, 2; Caskey, pp. 58 and 59.

<sup>4</sup> Amphorae in Athens, Pottier, *B.C.H.*

1898, p. 283; in London, A 1531, *ibid.* p. 285; in Munich, Hackl. *Jahrbuch*, xxii. pp. 83-85.

<sup>5</sup> Athens 1166 (CC. 1220); Louvre G 534. The amphora signed by Polygnotos (Hoppin, *Handbook*, ii. pp. 376-7), an early work of the painter, is a unique variant of type B; the foot is echinus-shaped, but the handles are ridged.

figured vases which belongs to about the second quarter of the sixth century.<sup>6</sup> Then the type disappears for a while : at any rate I do not know of any black-figured examples apart from the affected ones. The red-figured examples number seventeen : the earliest of them bears the signature of the potter Euxitheos, and was painted by Olto : hardly earlier than about 520 B.C. The other sixteen range between this date and about 480. Our amphora is one of the latest : a vase in Würzburg may be a little but cannot be much later. After 480 the shape vanishes.<sup>7</sup>

One or two red-figured amphorae of type C have a pair of figures on each side and frame the pictures with bands of pattern. But most of them follow a principle which is characteristic of the riper archaic period of red-figured vase-painting. The painter places a single figure on either side of the vase, and covers the rest of the surface with black ; cutting the patterns down to a plinth-like band under each figure—in our class of amphorae a simple reserved line ; and sometimes even dispensing with this band, so that the whole decoration of the vase consists of a single figure on the front, and another on the back, standing out from the black background. This sober and noble form of decoration loses its popularity at the end of the archaic period : the free style wanted more figures and more pattern ; the archaic vases seemed sombre and bleak.

The subject of our amphora is clear in the main, though some of the details offer difficulty. On the front of the vase, a youth with a cithara is singing : on the back stands a bearded man dressed in a himation, holding a wand in his left hand and making a gesture with his right. The youth is a virtuoso ; for

<sup>6</sup> Karo, *J.H.S.* xix. 148, b. He compares the Chalcidian amphora Munich 592 (Jahn 1108), which is now published in Hackl, *Vasensammlung zu München*, Pl. 21 ; there the mouth is rifled.

<sup>7</sup> The red-figured examples are the following :

(a) The pictures framed :

- (1) Orvieto, Faina 33. By the Tyszkiewicz painter (*A.J.A.* 1916, p. 152, No. 24).
- (2) Louvre G 63. A, silen and maenad ; B, two silens.
- (3) Formerly in the Higgins collection. Gerhard, *A.V.* Pl. 276, 1-2. *Burlington Cat.* 1903, K 99, No. 83.
- (4) Würzburg, 309. By the Syleus painter (*V.A.* p. 67, No. 12).

(b) The pictures not framed :

- (1) B.M. E. 258. *V.A.* p. 9, Fig. 4 = Hoppin, *Handbook*, i. p. 449. By Olto (*V.A.* p. 9, No. 3). Hoppin says the vase is much repainted ; it was so, but is so no longer, and was not when I made the drawings which he reproduces.

(2) Petrograd 602 (St. 1639). *Comptendu*, 1868, pp. 58 and 5.

(3) Naples 3174. *El. Cér.* i. Pl. 9.

(4) Petrograd (St. 1637). *Comptendu*, 1866, Pl. 5, 1-3.

(5) Petrograd 603 (St. 1593). By the painter of Boston 98, 882 (Flying Angel painter) (*V.A.* p. 57, No. 1).

(6) Vienna, Oest. Mus. 332. Masner, Pl. 6, No. 332, and p. 7. By the same (*ibid.* No. 3).

(7) Paris, Petit Palais 328. By the same (*ibid.* No. 2).

(8) Milan, Museo Teatrale 416. *Cat. Vend. Coll. Sarti 5 maggio 1906*, Pl. 19 ; *Cat. Coll. Dr. B. et M. C.*, Pl. 20, No. 169 ; *Cat. Coll. Jules Sambon*, Pl. 1, No. 9. By the same.

(9) Louvre G 212. A, man with spear ; B, man. Repainted. By the same ?

(10) Boston 98, 882. *V.A.* p. 58 : the shape, Caskey, *Geometry*, p. 80. By the same (*ibid.* No. 4).

(11) Petrograd 604 (St. 1601). A, *V.A.* p. 59. By the same (*ibid.* No. 5).

(12) Louvre G 220. A, komast ; B, komast.

(13) The Hearst vase.

his instrument is the heavy elaborate cithara, made of wood, with metal and ivory fittings. It is Apollo's instrument, and is to be distinguished from the lighter, simpler lyre invented by the infant Hermes. But the youth is not Apollo; for no immortal plays or sings with such passion; and a short-haired Apollo would hardly be possible at the period to which the vase belongs. Again: in these large vases with isolated figures the figure on the reverse is



FIG. 1.—NEW YORK, HEARST COLLECTION: A.

usually related in subject to the figure in the obverse: there are many exceptions to this rule, and our vase might be one of them; but from the gesture of the man's hand he seems to be beating time to music, and so connected with the musician. Now the man is a mortal, for no god carries a forked wand: therefore the youth cannot be Apollo; and Apollo is the only god he could have been: therefore he is a mortal.

The long forked wand is commonly carried by athletic trainers and umpires in athletic contests. It is seldom found in pictures of cithara-playing; but it

is found. On a small neck-amphora, with twisted handles, in the Vatican, the picture on the obverse consists of two figures : a bearded citharode standing on a platform, and a man in a himation with the forked wand in his right hand.<sup>8</sup> The man on the obverse of our vase, then, is a judge or an instructor : considering the movement of his hand, an instructor rather than a judge, and the subject of the vase a rehearsal, perhaps, rather than a performance.



FIG. 2.—NEW YORK, HEARST COLLECTION : B.

In his right hand the musician holds the plectrum, which is decorated with a tassel, and fastened to the cithara by a cord. His left hand, which is out of action, is seen to be passed through a retaining band, no doubt a leather strap punched with a row of holes.<sup>9</sup> The parts of the cithara are all clearly indicated :

<sup>8</sup> By the painter of the Louvre Centauro-machy; to be added to the list of his works in *V.A.* pp. 158-159.

<sup>9</sup> The back of this band is well seen on the bronze corslet *Bronzen von Olympia*,

Pl. 59, and on a fragmentary cantharos by the Pan painter, in Athens (Wolters, *Jahrbuch*, xiv. p. 104; *J.H.S.* xxxii. p. 363, No. 41).

the wooden sounding-box; the arms, partly of wood and partly of ivory or horn; the strengthening pieces on the inner side of the arms; the cross-bar, terminating in a metal disc, for turning it, at either end; the seven strings, fixed into the tail-piece, stretched over the bridge, and wound round the cross-bar; the cover or apron, of fringed and embroidered cloth, attached to the sounding-board and swinging with the motion of the singer. The bundle of cords hanging from the outer side of the cithara is present in most representations of citharae, but what the function of the cords is I am not sure: <sup>10</sup> conceivably they are spare strings.

The costume of the citharode consists of two pieces: a long Ionic chiton of ordinary cut, loosely belted, and a cloak made of a rectangular piece of cloth covering the middle of the body, flung over both shoulders, and kept in position, not by brooches or pins, but by its own weight. The drawing of the mantle is strongly but not fantastically stylised. A similar mantle, unless I am mistaken, is worn by a cithara-player on a contemporary vase in Munich.<sup>11</sup> The hang of the garment resembles that of Apollo's cloak in a Würzburg vase which we shall discuss later.<sup>12</sup>

A few words will suffice for the technique of the painting: most of the points will be clear from the reproductions. Only parts of the contours are lined in with relief lines: on the obverse, the face and neck, the fingers of the right hand with the plectrum, the inner outline of the left thumb, the feet, and portions of the cithara; on the reverse, the forehead and nose, the neck, part of the right shoulder, the right hand, the right side of the body where it is bare, the feet, the lower edge of the himation, and the part of the himation on the lower half of the right-hand side of the picture. The folds of the chiton on the obverse, and the minor folds of the himation, in the region of the elbow, on the reverse, are in brown; in brown also the minor internal markings of both bodies, including the man's nipples; the hair and eyelashes of the musician; and the loose ends of the instructor's hair and beard. The space between the two lines immediately above the fringe of the apron is filled in with brown. Ankles and nostrils are rendered by relief lines. Red is used for the wreaths and the plectrum cord.

Among the many vases on which citharodes are represented, that which resembles ours most closely is one which was formerly in Rollin's possession and which is published by Lenormant and De Witte.<sup>13</sup> In the text which accompanies the plate, the authors call it an amphora of Panathenaic shape: and this it may well have been; for although number 68 on their plate of forms, to which they refer the reader, is not an accurate rendering of any known type of vase, yet a vase in Naples, which they also publish, is likewise stated to be of shape 68, and the Naples vase is in truth an amphora of Panathenaic shape.<sup>14</sup>

The decoration of the Rollin vase (Fig. 3) consists of two figures, one on

<sup>10</sup> Th. Reinach, in Daremberg and Saglio, s.v. *Lyra* 1446, thinks that the cords were for fastening the apron to the cithara.

<sup>11</sup> Neck-amphora with twisted handles, 2319 (Jahn 8).

<sup>12</sup> F.R.H. Pl. 134, 1. See p. 80.

<sup>13</sup> *Ét. Cér.* ii. Pl. 16; text 2, p. 38; previously in the Canino collection.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* ii. Pl. 75. Style of the Meidias painter.

either side of the vase; the French reproduction combining them into a single picture. On the obverse, a bearded citharode with his head back, and his mouth open singing, dressed in a long Ionian chiton and a short himation of normal Ionian type; on the reverse, a bearded man clad in a himation, leaning forward a little and supporting himself on his stick, his right arm stretched out with two fingers bent and the others extended: the gesture is the same as in our amphora, but the hand is seen from the front and not from the side. The drawings in the *Élite*, although lacking in sensitiveness, are evidently not untrustworthy. There is one part, however, which is open to suspicion, and



FIG. 3.—ONCE IN ROLLIN'S POSSESSION. (From *Él Cér.* ii. pl. 16.)

that is the himation of the man on the reverse, where it curls up round the lower side of the left forearm. This wear, quite unfamiliar to me, I take to be unantique. I suggest that this portion of the Rollin vase was modern.

Lenormant's draughtsman, as can be seen in the original plate, though scarcely in our reduction, has distinguished the brown lines of his original from the black, which is more than many copyists do. It is clear that brown was used for most of the inner markings in the bodies, for the vertical lines in the upper part of the chiton and for the intermediate folds in the lower part, for the folds of the sleeve, and for the dots on the apron of the cithara. Three of the ankles are black, the fourth is given as brown.

Let us compare the figure on the reverse of the Rollin vase with the

corresponding figure on our amphora. There is no reason why the two figures should be replicas, and they are not: the attitude is not the same, and there are certain variations in drawing. We shall examine the differences before proceeding to the resemblances. The Rollin man has a little arc on his right arm, between the two heads of the biceps, and the digitations of the serratus magnus are indicated: these lines are absent in our amphora. Again, in our amphora the transverse folds of the himation run alternately from our left and our right, the left-hand lines being short, the others long: whereas in the Rollin vase this system is observable, indeed, below the knee, but above the knee it gives place to a system of long continuous lines running from the outer edge of the garment, on our left, to the long vertical folds on our right. There can be no doubt which is the more satisfactory rendering: the Rollin system is unbearably monotonous. Now we noticed above that there was good reason to suppose that the Rollin himation was not wholly genuine: if the himation was restored, as we thought, about the forearm and below it, then the folds in the region between navel and knee may also have been restored or repainted; and I suspect that this is so, because of their ugliness.

Let us now turn to the resemblances: I lay no stress, of course, on the rendering of the nipple as a circle of dots with the centre marked; for this is an extremely common rendering of the nipple; but I would draw attention to the bounding lines of the breasts, with the curvilinear triangle at the pit of the stomach; to the omission of the off clavicle; to the line of the hither clavicle, recurving at the pit of the neck without touching the median line of the breast; to the curved line which runs down from about half-way along the line of the clavicle, separating shoulder and breast; to the smaller arc in the middle of the deltoid; to the indication of the trapezius between neck and shoulder; to the pair of curved lines on the upper right arm; to the projection of the wrist when the position of the hand requires it; to the two brown lines on the neck, indicating the sterno-mastoid; to the marking on the body between the lower boundary of the breast and the himation; to the form of the black lines indicating the ankle; to the pair of brown lines running from each ankle up the leg; to the forward contour of left leg and knee showing through the himation; in the himation, to the peaked folds on the left upper arm, the loose fold in the region of the navel, and the triangle where the inside of the garment shows at the shoulder.

We will now consider a third vase, an amphora of Panathenaic shape in the Vatican (Pl. III).<sup>15</sup> In this vase also, the man on the reverse is very like the corresponding figure on our amphora. First the differences: in our amphora there is a line more in the ear, an additional line at the anterior end of the collar-bone, a series of arcs to model the ends of the toes; the outline of the himation in the region of the shoulder and upper arm is more complex; the himation has a line border; the forehead-nose line and the horizontal line of the mouth are lined in with relief, whereas in the Vatican vase no relief lines are

<sup>15</sup> Helbig 488; *Mus. Greg.* ii. Pl. 58, strengthened the brown inner markings 1; phots. Alinari 35773-4, from which in front of the original: nearly all of them our reproductions are made; I have is visible in the photograph.

used for the contour of the face. All these differences fall under one heading : the amphora is a somewhat more elaborate work than the Vatican vase, and the artist has put a little more detail into his figure. Now look at the resemblances : the form of the breast is the same ; the triangle at the pit of the stomach is the same, the brown lines on the breast are the same, and the brown



FIG. 4.—NAPLES RC. 163 : B. (From *Mon. Linc.* 22, pl. 82.)

lines on forearm, upper arm, and neck ; wrists and trapezius are indicated in both ; the feet are the same, apart from the absence of the toe arcs in the less studied of the two figures : the ankle and the brown lines on the leg are the same ; the system of folds is the same ; and in both vases we find brown intermediate folds in the region of the elbow. The hands are hardly comparable, since they are not in the same position : for parallels to the Vatican hands, we may turn to the Rollin man, who has his left hand drawn in the same manner,



the same pair of brown lines on the left forearm, and the same black line at the spring of the fingers in the right hand.

Leaving, for the moment, the obverse of the Vatican vase, let us turn to another vase of exactly the same type, an amphora of Panathenaic shape in Naples, and inspect the youth on the reverse (Fig. 4).<sup>16</sup> I have taken the liberty of adding the dotted nipple, which is present in the original and has been overlooked by the Italian draughtsman: I would also remark that the ankle lines do not really meet below, as would seem from the reproduction. In the Naples youth, the triangle at the pit of the stomach is absent, one of the sides being omitted, and there is no brown vertical line on the left breast. Moreover, as the left hand is held lower, there is room for the brown body-markings which are absent in the Vatican man, but are given in just the same way in the Rollin vase and in our amphora. In nearly every other respect the Naples youth is as like the Vatican man as could be, and the strips on which they stand are decorated with the same, by no means common, pattern. I would invite the reader to compare the Naples youth, not only with the Vatican man, but with the two others, to make sure that I am not gradually leading him astray.

Fig. 5 reproduces a fragment in Athens, found on the Acropolis.<sup>17</sup> The curve of the fragment suggests that the vase was an amphora of Panathenaic shape. Here we find once more the two brown lines on the neck, the recurving collar-bone, in which the recurve is of just the same length as in the Naples youth, the brown line bounding the shoulder, the little brown arc in the middle of the deltoid, the dotted nipple, the short brown vertical line on the breast, the loose folds of the himation on the left of the drawing, the end of the himation flung over the left forearm, the intermediate brown line between this and the shoulder-folds. There are three lines on the left forearm instead of two, but so there are on the right forearm of the Rollin man: the only new detail is the tiny brown arc emphasising the jutting wrist.

In Fig. 6, one of three figures on the reverse of a stamnos in the Louvre,<sup>18</sup> the himation is worn differently, concealing the left arm and hand: the *subject* of the drapery, if one may so speak, is not the same as in the five previous figures. In other respects the himation is as like the Vatican and Naples himation as possible: the same system of folds from left and right, the same left leg line, the same rendering of the inside of the garment at neck and flank. The forms of the body—shoulder, neck, breast, arms, legs, feet and ankles—are the same as before: the only difference is that the figure being more summarily executed, nipples and vertical breast lines are left out. The little arc at the heads of the biceps appeared on the Rollin vase. In the rendering of the pit of the stomach, the new figure stands midway between the Naples youth and the Vatican man: the triangle is complete, but the third side of it is in brown, not in black. The proportions of the figure are shorter than in

<sup>16</sup> Gabrici, *Mon. Linc.* xxii. Pl. 82. The two long faint lines on the himation from mid forearm to elbow are sketch-lines.

<sup>17</sup> G 139a; the letter after the numeral suggests that other fragments of the same

vase have been found, but I have not seen them.

<sup>18</sup> G 186; the obverse. *Cat. Coll. A. B(arre)*. Pl. 5. Height of the figure reproduced, 19.7 centimetres.

the other vases, for it is one of three figures on the reverse of a broad vase, not the single figure on the reverse of a tall vase.

Another example of the Louvre type of himation is given in Fig. 7, the youth on the reverse of a column-krater in Petrograd.<sup>19</sup> The figure is fragmentary, and the upper part of the right ankle is missing. The profile nipple is new to us; but nothing else. I will only remark that the pattern below the picture is the same as in the Vatican and Naples vases.

The only other reverse figure which I shall show comes from a Panathenaic amphora in Munich (Fig. 8).<sup>20</sup> The himation of the Munich youth takes us back to our first type: it stands particularly close to the Naples and Vatican himatia; while the line of the lower edge, with the two garment ends on our extreme right, is exactly as in the Rollin vase.

We have mentioned eight vases; but hitherto we have considered the figures on the reverse only: let us now turn the vases round and look at the obverse, beginning with the Vatican vase.

The discobolos (Pl. III.) resembles his friend on the reverse in all comparable features. As the discobolos is naked, we are able to study the rendering of parts which were concealed by clothing in the reverse figures: especially the hips, the thighs, the knees and the calves. A second naked figure is the Eros on the front of the Naples vase.<sup>21</sup>

The breast of Eros, with all its brown lines, is rendered in the familiar way, except that in the boyish figure the triangle at the pit of the stomach is absent: arms, neck, and profile foot are as usual; and the lines of the profile leg are the same as in the Vatican athlete. Now the very fellow of the Vatican discobolos is the discobolos on the obverse of the Panathenaic amphora in Munich mentioned above (Pl. IV. 2). The two pictures speak for themselves: one figure is in profile, the other frontal, but wherever you can compare them they tally, even to the whisker. The nipples are both in profile; but we noticed a profile nipple in the Petrograd youth. The

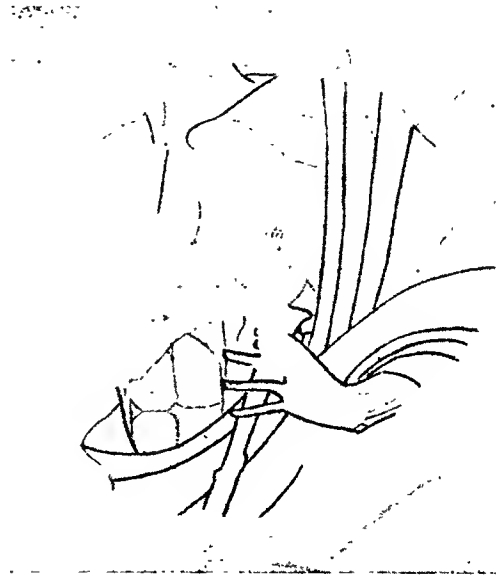


FIG. 5.—ACROPOLIS G 139 a.

<sup>19</sup> 635 (St. 1528); the obverse, *Comptendu*, 1873, p. 22. Height of the figure on the reverse, including the pattern, 23 centimetres.

<sup>20</sup> 2313 (J. 9). The obverse, Pl. IV. 2.

Height of the figures, including the pattern: obverse, 26.7 centimetres; reverse, 24.5 centimetres.

<sup>21</sup> *Mon. Linc.* xxii. Pl. 82.

frontal knee, leg and ankle find close parallels in the Naples Eros. The rendering of arms, breast, neck, profile foot and ankles, and all the parts which a himation would leave visible, are the same as in the series of reverse figures. The Munich vase bears the love-name Socrates, which occurs on only one other vase, the Petrograd column-krater which we have already considered. A third discobolos is inseparable from the two in the Vatican and in Munich: he decorates the obverse of another, somewhat earlier, Panathenaic amphora in Munich (Pl. IV. 1).<sup>22</sup> The satyrs on a third vase in Munich, of the same shape as the other two (Pl. V.),<sup>23</sup> preserve all the bodily features of the Vatican discobolos and of the other naked figures with which we have compared it. These satyrs find their very fellows on another still grander vase, the Berlin amphora 2160.<sup>24</sup> Finally, on one of the plates in Furtwängler-Reichhold, Hauser has published two amphorae of Panathenaic shape, one in Munich and one in Würzburg.<sup>25</sup> The Munich vase looks somewhat earlier than the other, but the drawing of the forms is the same in both, and the same as in all the figures, reverse or obverse, mentioned above. Reichhold's pictures will show that at a glance: to enumerate the resemblances would be merely to make a list of the parts of the body. But let us turn back for a moment to the first vase we mentioned, the citharode amphora, and compare it with the last, the Würzburg vase.<sup>26</sup> The subjects are totally different, and the clothing in the one—cloak and lionskin—naturally offers few points of comparison with the clothing in the other—chiton and himation. But look at the naked parts: the neck, the breast and shoulder with all their boundaries and inner markings, the arms, the feet and ankles. Lastly, the Munich Perseus vase:<sup>27</sup> the short chiton worn by Perseus offers a parallel for the delicate system of gently waving brown lines in the chiton of our citharode: the chiton of Medusa terminates below in the same pair of engrailed black lines as our citharode's: the lower border of Perseus' chiton is different, but it interests us nevertheless: it consists of two narrow bands, one set with black dots, the other filled in with brown: invert it, and you have the border of the apron which hangs from our cithara. The band filled in with brown sounds a simple sort of border; but actually it is not at all common in vase-painting.

It will be admitted, I think, that the thirteen vases described above are closely interconnected. We had to examine them consecutively, but we were continually referring back and across. Shuffle the thirteen, inspect them in any order you like, and they will be found to belong to the same suit.

It cannot be maintained that the points in which these figures resemble one another or one the rest are trifling, few, or restricted to one part of the figure. They comprise both the master lines which in archaic art demarcate

<sup>22</sup> 2310 (J. 1). Height of the figure, 26 centimetres. The horizontal line on the left ankle represents a string.

<sup>23</sup> 2311 (J. 52). Height of the figures, 25.8 and 24.2 centimetres. The surface of the legs has suffered a great deal, so that much of the inner marking has disappeared.

<sup>24</sup> Gerhard, *E.C.V.* Pls. 8-9; *J.H.S.* xxxi. Pls. 15-16 and p. 276. The only reproductions which do justice to the beauty of the original are those published by Winter in *Jahreshefte*, 3. Pls. 3 and 4, and 5, 1. A new publication is promised in Furtwängler-Reichhold.

<sup>25</sup> Pl. 134. <sup>26</sup> Pl. 134, 1. <sup>27</sup> Pl. 134, 2.

the several parts of the body and of the drapery, and the minor lines which subdivide or diversify the areas thus demarcated. We may speak, in fact, of a coherent and comprehensive system of representing the forms of the human body naked and clothed.

The system is not restricted to the thirteen vases described. It appears on



FIG. 6.—LOUVRE G 186: PART OF B.

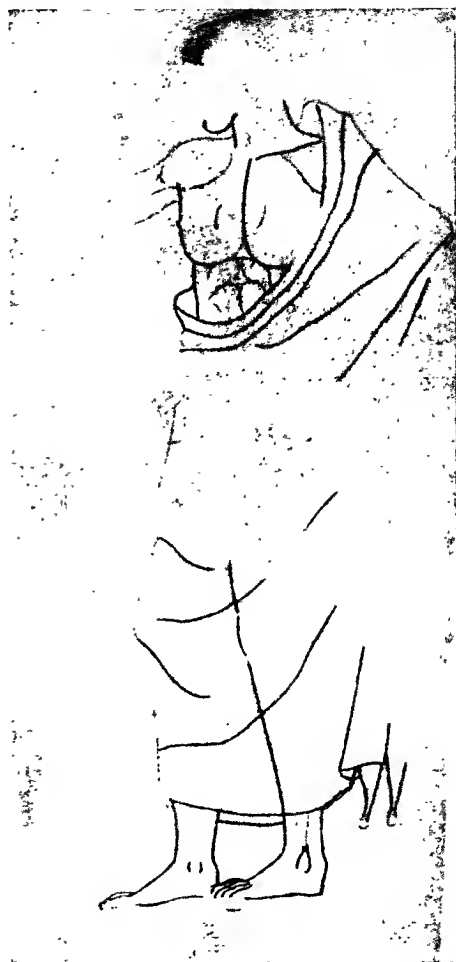


FIG. 7.—PETROGRAD 635: B.

a much larger number of vases: I have given a list before, and I repeat it rearranged, and increased by several items, later in these pages.<sup>28</sup> To point out the resemblances between the vases which we have examined, and the others in the list, would take a long time, and part of the work I have done elsewhere. I will confine myself to one or two details which bear upon the citharode vase. The double band of pattern—a band with dots, and a band filled in with brown

<sup>28</sup> See p. 91 and note.

—which we noticed on the apron of the cithara, as well as on the chiton of Perseus in the Munich Perseus vase, recurs on the embroidered chiton of Athena in the Munich stamnos and the London volute-krater.<sup>29</sup> For the wavy brown gold lines on the citharode's chiton we may refer to the chiton of Thetis on the volute-krater or of the woman on the fragment in the Cabinet des Médailles.<sup>30</sup> Finally, the himation of the man on the reverse: compare the himation of Apollo on the volute-krater, and, as far as it goes, that of Triton on the small neck-amphora in Harvard.<sup>31</sup> We have already looked at one of the reverse figures on the Louvre stamnos G 186 (Fig. 6): we observed that the himation was not worn in the same way as in the vases which we had previously examined; but if we turn to the obverse of the stamnos<sup>32</sup> we shall find the excellent Chiron wearing his himation shorter, it is true, than fashion would have prescribed in Athens, but in just the same manner as the instructor on the citharode vase and all his companions; and the rendering of the folds is exactly the same.

This system of renderings cannot be said to be the system universal at the period. It will hardly be disputed that the neck-amphora E 278 in the British Museum<sup>33</sup> belongs to the same period as the vases we have examined, that is to say, it is not later than the latest of them or earlier than the earliest. Now the attitude of the Apollo on the London vase is very like that of the Apollo on the Würzburg vase mentioned above; but if we place the two figures side by side, we shall hardly find a feature or a line in the one body which is the least like the corresponding feature or line in the other. The system of renderings in the London vase is totally different from the Würzburg system. Like the Würzburg system, the London system is not confined to one vase, but reappears on a good many others;<sup>34</sup> for instance, on the New York amphora reproduced immediately after the London vase in my *Vases in America*.<sup>35</sup>

Let it be assumed that the London vase and its fellows are a little earlier or a little later than the vases of our group: admitted, as it must be, that both these and the London vase belong to the ripening or ripe archaic period; but denied, that the two groups can be called contemporary. It may then be contended that the relation of our system to others is still that of a temporal sequence: that ours is the system of a shorter period within the riper archaic period; a decade, say, or a year. But our system is not confined to the thirteen vases mentioned above: it appears, as we shall see, in a much larger number; but among this number there is not one cup. Such a cup may turn up tomorrow; but even so the other vase-shapes will continue to have an immense preponderance. Is it possible to think that during the assumed universal prevalence of this system, the decoration of cups was wholly suspended or the

<sup>29</sup> F.R.H. Pl. 106, 2; *J.H.S.* xxxi. Pl. 14.

<sup>30</sup> De Ridder, p. 280.

<sup>31</sup> *V.A.* p. 39.

<sup>32</sup> *Cat. Coll. A. B(arre)*, Pl. 5; Chiron alone, Morin-Jean, *Le dessin des animaux en Grèce d'après les vases peints*, p. 108. Neither drawing is accurate, and Morin-Jean omits all the brown lines on the limbs;

but the reproduction of the himation is sufficient for comparison.

<sup>33</sup> *B.S.A.* xviii. Pls. 11-12 and p. 221; the Apollo only, *V.A.* p. 45.

<sup>34</sup> See *B.S.A.* xviii. pp. 217-233, and xix. p. 245; *V.A.* pp. 45-47.

<sup>35</sup> *V.A.* p. 46.

output at any rate vastly decreased? Is it not more natural to consider that many of the very numerous cups which we still possess were painted contemporaneously with the thirteen vases and their companions, but painted in quarters where this system of renderings was not employed?

The system of renderings described above stands in a certain relation to nature: the individual renderings are more or less inspired by nature, that is, by a desire to reproduce the actual forms of the body. But nature does not ordain that an ankle or a breast must be rendered in just this way and no other. Nor does nature insist, that once you have drawn an ankle with black lines of a certain shape, you must put a vertical line on the chest, or a little arc in the middle of the deltoid. But on the vases, the one rendering brings the other with it: where you find this ankle you find these lines, and the rest of the renderings, within reasonable limits, are predictable.

It may be objected that this system cannot be segregated as I have segregated it, that it passes insensibly into other systems, so that one cannot say where it begins and where it ends. Now there would be no cause for wonder if the edges of its area were somewhat blurred; but they are not blurred. Memorise the system, and walk through the Louvre or the British Museum: you will not be in doubt on which vases it is present or on which absent. Or turn over the pages of a large collection of good reproductions: Furtwängler-Reichhold, or Hoppin's *Handbook of Signed Vases*. I think everyone will admit that it occurs on three vases in the first book, and three only, and that no other vase in the book shows anything the least like it; and that in the second book it does not occur at all.



FIG. 8.—MUNICH 2313: B.

A system so definite, coherent, distinctive, and in some respects so wilful, is most easily intelligible as a *personal* system: inspired in some measure by observation of nature, influenced and in part determined by tradition, and communicable or prescribable to others; but the child, above all else, of one man's brain and will. The personal character of the system does not necessarily imply that all the works which exhibit it are the work of one hand. Suppose we took a member of the group—the citharode amphora, or the Würzburg vase; or let us say a single figure, the citharode, or the Apollo—and asked the question, at what point in the genesis of the work the system of renderings entered into it; three kinds of answer might be given. First, the figure before us may be a substantive work, the man who executed it having also designed it. If E be the execution, R the system of renderings, and D the design, the work done by the executant may be roughly represented by the formula  $E + R + D$ .

Secondly, the figure may be a copy, the man who executed it not having designed it, but having made a faithful reproduction of a model which was rendered in R. The executant's share of the work may be represented by E:  $R + D$  being the work of another man.

Thirdly, the figure may be a translation, the man who executed it not having designed it, but having reproduced a model, which was not, however, rendered in R but in another system: R being imported by the executant, whose share of the work may be represented by  $E + R$ : D being the work of another man.

The whole group of vases which we have been studying may consist of substantive works; or of copies; or of translations; or of any two; or of all three.

I think it is inconceivable that R can have been a copyist's system and no more. It was we who detached it from the other formal elements in the vases where it appears, and dealt with its particulars piecemeal. But a system so clearly and carefully thought and felt out, so adequate to express a definite conception of the human form, must have been originally inherent, must have had its home, in a number of finished figures. It cannot have been meant to be clapped beside alien designs like a kind of substitution table. And if merely a copyist's system, how could it have kept itself pure through a number of years; always at the beck of others, yet not losing or altering anything in itself? The foreign forms continually in front of him, and the constant criticism of his superiors, must have ended by wreaking some change or confusion in the copyist's style.

It may be that some of the vases which exhibit this system are copies of designs executed on another system; but the main function of the system cannot have been translation. All sorts of borrowing went on in the Ceramicus; but if the system was applied to an alien design, it would so transmute it that the result would be a more or less substantive work.

We have now to consider the two other possibilities: substantive work, or faithful copy of a model. In both cases the system of renderings, and the other formal elements, cohere; the second case moves the 'original' a degree farther back.

That the vases of our group are all copies is unlikely : it seems to me that the tendency to degrade the actual executant of the vase-painting into little more than a mere mechanic, and to separate him from a presumed designer, ' the only true artist ' in the matter, is incorrect. We do not know very much about the organisation of potter's industry in Athens, but we know enough to be sure that the analogy of great modern industrial establishments like Creusot or Renault is a fallacious one.<sup>36</sup> Modern industries of the kind depend on standardisation, on the production of an immense number of replicas. Now replicas exist among ancient vase-paintings, but on nothing like the scale which we should expect to find if the industry was regularly organised on the principle of one design copied in great numbers. That more or less faithful copies of successful vases or of other models by successful artists were made by younger or lesser men in some of the ancient establishments I am ready to believe; but not that in the majority of vases the designer of the drawings is different from the executant.

The application of a system of renderings, someone may say, is not sufficient to create a work of art; and the detection of such a system in a number of vases is not equivalent to an exhaustive examination of their content. There are aspects of the citharode amphora, for example, or of the Würzburg vase, which I have hitherto seemed to be wholly or partially disregarding. There is the material aspect—the nature of clay, glaze, instruments employed, and the like. There are the shape, features and proportions of the vessel itself. There are, finally, those aspects which come under the general heading of design—the arrangement of dark with light, and of line with line, to form a pattern (design in the narrower sense), and to represent something in nature (theme, movement, ethos and pathos). Now with the material aspect we need not concern ourselves : the recipes for making the clay and the glaze, for forming the pot, and so forth, reached their final form early in the sixth century; the brush was perfected later, but by the time of our vases it had been long in common use : these things do not alter from the early days of the red-figured period to the latest. As to the shape of the vases, I have said something and shall say more later. The aspect of design remains.

Let us give our attention, first of all, to the distribution of the figure-work. We make a distinction between decoration which consists of a single figure, and that which consists of more than one : single and plural decoration. If the vase has two sides, and a figure on each side, this counts as single decoration, even although the two figures may be connected in subject and motive : since only one of the figures can be seen at a time. Now both single and plural decoration occur in our group, as we should indeed expect ; but there is a marked

<sup>36</sup> These firms are not specified by Mr. Pottier, but I submit that I am not misinterpreting the implication of the following passage (*Catalogue des vases du Louvre*, 3, p. 705), where the author is speaking of the heads of the workshops, whom he supposes to have provided the executants with models : ' Il pourrait se faire qu'ils

n'eussent jamais tenu la poterie entre leurs mains et pourtant que cette œuvre d'art fût vraiment le produit de leur intelligence, comme aujourd'hui quelque engin formidable de l'industrie métallurgique sort d'un atelier, sans que celui qui l'a créé et construit l'ait seulement touché du bout du doigt.'



preference for single decoration. This liking is not confined to our group: it is characteristic of the ripe archaic period, apart from the cups, as a whole: but in our group it is more pronounced than in almost any other. This is not merely a consequence of many of the vases in our groups being tall thin vases, such as amphorae of Panathenaic shape or neck-amphorae. Single decoration suits such shapes, but they can be decorated plurally, and sometimes were so decorated by contemporary artists. And in our group single decoration is not restricted to tall thin vases. The four bell-kraters<sup>37</sup> are all decorated singly, and single decoration is rare in bell-kraters.<sup>38</sup> Again, the list contains three hydriai of the old black-figured shape. Two of the three have plural decoration, but one of them, in the single figure between palmettes which forms the subsidiary picture, that on the shoulder of the vase, shows a leaning towards the favourite principle. The third hydria is very interesting;<sup>39</sup> for obvious reasons, it is difficult to apply the single system to this type of vase; but here it is done: the subsidiary picture, on the shoulder, has been dropped; the sharp angle which separates shoulder from body has been boldly ignored; and the magnificent design has been flung over both parts, so that head to waist of Apollo are on the shoulder of the vase, and the rest of the figure on the body. The same tendency is traceable in the Berlin amphora:<sup>40</sup> it was hard to think of a single figure which could be made ample enough to decorate the side of this huge vase without looking dwarfed: there are actually two figures on the front, not to speak of an animal; but they are set so closely together, and their projecting limbs and attributes so interlaced, that the two, or the three, tell as one.<sup>41</sup>

The use and the nature of the ornamental patterns chimes with this love of sparse figure decoration. Patterns are used sparingly in our group. It is true, as I have hinted before, that the riper archaic period is less lavish of its patterns than the periods which follow and precede it; but our group is sparing even for the period. In the whole long list there are only two vases in which the pictures are framed by bands of pattern. Palmettes at the handles are rare, and of the simplest description: floral or other decoration on the neck of the vase is also rather rare; even the rays at the base, common in other sparsely-decorated vases, are almost unknown. The pattern decoration usually consists of a short strip below, and sometimes another above the picture. In the stamnoi the lower strip is often a simple reserved line; in the Panathenaic amphorae the lower strip is sometimes omitted, just as in our citharode amphora,

<sup>37</sup> See p. 94.

<sup>38</sup> I know but two other examples; Petrograd inv. 13387 (*Izvestiya*, xiii, pp. 188-189), and the small vase formerly in the Kircheriano and now in the Villa Giulia (A, *Mon. Linc.* xiv. p. 307). The Villa Giulia vase is by the Achilles painter (*J.H.S.* xxxiv. 179-226; *V.A.* pp. 163-164), who continues in a later age the tradition of our group.

<sup>39</sup> P. 95. Alinari's excellent photographs do not show the two brown lines on

the neck; they are duly present in the original.

<sup>40</sup> P. 91.

<sup>41</sup> There is only one rf. amphora of type A or B which has but a single figure on either side; the Achilles amphora in the Vatican (*Mus. Greg.* ii, Pl. 58, 3; A, *J.H.S.* xxxiv. 180; photos. Alinari 35816 and 35815). The Achilles painter, as I have observed before (note 38), continues the tradition of our group.

so that the vase is devoid of all pattern decoration. Such patterns as occur in our group are very often of a peculiarly simple type. The normal meander, with its maze of interlocking lines, is pretty frequent; but not nearly so frequent as in most contemporary and later groups of vases. The place of the meander is often taken by much simpler forms of pattern, forms which are generally included, and with reason, under the general term meander, but which I prefer to distinguish as 'key patterns.' There are two types: the running key, which is found occasionally in our group, and is common enough in others; and the stopt key, which is curiously rare outside our group, and extremely common within it.<sup>42</sup> The tendency to use the key-pattern where other groups would use the more complicated meander is another manifestation of the love of simplicity and clarity which characterises our group.

The rhythmic combination of meander with pattern-square is a decorative idea which seems to have arisen in Eastern Greece and in the eighth or seventh century: it passed into the repertory of Attic vase-painters in the course of the sixth, became extraordinarily popular in the riper archaic period, and retained its popularity as long as the art of the vase-painter continued to flourish.

This class of pattern is common in our group, as in most others of the period: stopt key and meander are found combined with pattern-squares. But the combination is almost always according to a particular principle: this principle is rare outside our group, and if it becomes not infrequent, for a while, later, it is almost restricted to certain groups of vases which, on other grounds, would seem to be related to ours. The principle is this: stopt-meander-groups (generally one stopt key, or one or two stopt meanders) and pattern-squares are so arranged, that the meander-groups face alternately left and right, while the pattern-squares hang alternately from the upper and the lower horizontal bounding line.<sup>43</sup> The pattern-unit is therefore a large one: it consists of two different meander-groups and two different pattern-squares: the recurrence of the pattern is postponed as long as possible. The consequence is that the pattern-band has a longer, gentler wave than other combinations of meander and pattern-square.

It is significant that out of the various kinds of pattern-square used by red-figure painters, our group shows a distinct predilection for one: the most linear of them, that in which the effect depends least on the semi-colouristic contrast of dark and light: the saltire-square with a dot between each pair of arms. Significant, because the other pattern-squares catch the eye quicker and hold it firmer, breaking the pattern-band up into short staccato sections.

Most of the patterns used in the group fall under one of the two headings, stopt key; and stopt key or meander combined with pattern-squares on the principle described above. A handsome floral pattern is also used: a special variety, rare outside the group, of a common general type.

It may be well to point out here, that throughout the history of vase-

<sup>42</sup> *E. g.* Figs. 4, 7, 8; Pls. III., IV. 2.

<sup>43</sup> Examples of this principle; *J.H.S.* xxxi. 279, Nos. 2-5 and 7.

painting the pattern-group tends to coincide with the stylistic group, and this is natural enough: there is no reason to suppose that the patterns were not regularly executed by the same hand as the figures; the labour may sometimes have been divided, though I do not for a moment believe that it was often so; but even then the artist of the figures would naturally prescribe the patterns. Two examples only. In many of the cups signed by the painter Douris,<sup>44</sup> the interior picture is surrounded by a variety of meander and cross-square pattern: this variety of pattern, and even the particular sort of meander which is one of the elements, are rarely found in vases which do not exhibit the style of Douris. Again, the painter Makron encircles the interior picture in his cups with a meander of a particular kind, the meander running in twos. This is not a rare pattern like Douris' patterns; but Makron uses hardly any other: there is only one cup in his style which has it not.

It cannot be said that the comparatively few examples of plural composition in our group are in any way peculiar. Throughout archaic painting, the plural schemes are few, and the main lines of a composition are seldom of an unfamiliar type. It may be merely by chance that one common type is very rarely found in the vases of our list: the two-figure composition consisting of two restful figures facing each other.

Let us now consider the separate figures, whether isolated or grouped with others. We shall expect to find that they have much in common with the other figures of the riper archaic period, particularly in their relation to ideal space. It is well known that towards the end of the sixth century a great advance was made in the exploration of the third dimension.<sup>45</sup> The new conception of form in space manifests itself in a good many ways; but most obviously in the treatment of leg and foot. The more usual foreshortenings of foot and leg are used freely in our group. In a standing figure, one of the legs may be drawn frontal with the foot seen from the front; in a running or flying figure, one leg may be drawn frontal with the foot extended frontally as if seen from above. Three-quarter views of the back appear in the riper vases, and a three-quarter foot of a special form. The chest is often three-quartered, sometimes timidly, in the later vases with more courage; and a certain desire to give depth to the upper part of the body is shown by indication of the trapezium, where it would be ignored in other groups; and of the front of the farther shoulder when the upper part of the arm is concealed. On the whole, the attitude towards foreshortening is one of moderation: the more uncommon postures do not occur: there is no full back-view; and none of the daring experiments which we find in the work of the Panaitios painter and others. This moderation is consonant with the love of clarity to which we have alluded, and with the love of varied contour of which we shall presently speak.

Let us now turn to the relation of the figure to the actual background:

<sup>44</sup> Hoppin, *Handbook*, pp. 208-275, Nos. 4, 6, 8, 12, 16, 17, 19, 21, 25, 27.

<sup>45</sup> *V.A.* pp. 27-28; *Ancient Gems in Leves House*, pp. 21-22: where I should have mentioned, as one of the earliest

examples in sculptured relief, the warrior seen from behind on the cornice of the archaic Artemision at Ephesus (Hogarth, *Ephesus*, Pl. 17, 30).

the contour. I think we may trace in this group of vases a special concern to make the contour at once harmonious and interesting: harmonious, by the use of long gentle curves; interesting, by the careful disposition of long projections radiating from the centre of the design—arms, legs, wings, big objects in the hands. I say a special concern, since the concern for harmony or interest in the contour is obviously widespread in vase-painting; but it sometimes happens that the contour is harmonious without being particularly interesting, or interesting without being particularly harmonious; and in many vases one feels that not the contour but something else has been uppermost in the artist's mind. One of the grandest examples of the combination is the group, already discussed, on the obverse of the Berlin amphora. I think it is possible to trace a real kinship between this design and the design on the Apollo hydria in the Vatican. I mention these two first because they are perhaps the two most complex. But I do not think it is fanciful to find something of the same quality in simpler designs: of course in the Munich silens; but also in the London komast, in the Munich discoboloi, in the Naples Eros, in the Würzburg Apollo and Herakles, in the Louvre Ganymede; even in the earliest vase of the whole group, the hydria with Achilles and Penthesilea in New York; and even in a fragment like the Nike in the Cabinet des Médailles.

Even in the best vases of this group, relief lines are used but sparingly in the contour. This economy of relief lines is not due to haste, as it is in the reverse figures of most vases, and in the principal figures of many. It is evidently deliberate: the contour is the softer though not the weaker for not being completely lined in.

How far the effect of these figures and of the others is due to the contour and how far to the lines within the contour is not always easy to determine. The two sets of lines work together, and their spirit, one is inclined to say their inspiration, is the same. The character of the lines within the contour seems to be determined by the same feeling as the contour line: by the dislike of the harsh, abrupt, violent and unsymmetrical, by the love of equable, harmonious curves, usually with a wave-like flexure, drawn with a rather full brush, and dividing the body into compartments of a clear and pleasant shape.

A word about the shapes of the vases in this group. The range is wide; but there are no kotylai, and above all no cups. Some shapes are commoner than others: the Panathenaic amphorae form a considerable proportion of the extant red-figured specimens: next to these, stamnoi and neck-amphorae with twisted handles are the most frequent, and of the smaller vases, Nolan amphorae and lekythoi. It is more important to observe that the vases of one class of shape are apt to be of a single, sometimes a peculiar variety; to have proportions and features (mouth, foot, handles) in common, and to resemble each other in the distribution of the figures and the distribution and nature of the ornamental patterns. Now we noticed above that the pattern group tended to coincide with the stylistic group: the same may be said of the shape group. This rule, like the other, may be illustrated from the work of Douris and of Makron. Nearly all the signed cups of Douris have a curious feature below the

foot: the reserved strip at the edge of the foot below is set off from the rest of the foot by a ledge. This ledge is a regular feature in a type of cup which was used by the earliest red-figure cup-painters; but in the type of cup which Douris generally uses, the commonest of the red-figured cup types, it is rare outside the signed or unsigned work of Douris. The cups painted by Makron, which include most of the cups with the signature of the potter Hieron, also have a peculiarity in the foot: the little ledge, seldom lacking in the commonest type of cup on the upper side of the foot, is set particularly near the edge. The cause of the affinity between shape group and stylistic group is not so obvious as the cause of the other affinity: it points at any rate to a close connexion between the potter and the decorator; but the question need not be examined here.

To sum up, we began by speaking about a peculiar system of renderings, through which a certain conception of the human form found expression. We found that the vases which exhibited the system had more than this in common: they showed, as a group, a liking for a certain choice and use of patterns, for certain principles of decoration, for a certain relationship between contour and background, for lines and curves of certain kinds. The system of renderings was not easy to separate from the other elements of design: it was, from one point of view, their vehicle, and from another, a collateral expression of artistic will.

I believe the best way of explaining the homogeneity of this group of vases is to suppose that it represents the work of a single anonymous artist, whom I have called, after his masterpiece, the painter of the Berlin amphora. I am ready to admit that some of the vases in the following list may be school-pieces, or, more precisely, faithful copies of the artist's drawings executed by subordinates at his instigation and under his supervision, although I confess that some of those pieces which I have queried may possibly be authentic works of the Berlin painter in a dull or a careless mood. I admit such a resemblance between the works of the Berlin painter and the works of older and of younger artists as may be accounted for by the necessary supposition that he learnt his craft from others, by the natural one that he trained assistants to follow in his steps. But between his masters—Phintias, or Euthymides, or both, or another—and his pupils—Hermonax and the rest—his personality stands out as distinct as that of Douris, or Epiktetos, or Euphronios, or Polygnotos, or any other vase-painter whose name has been preserved.

WORKS BY THE BERLIN PAINTER AND HIS SCHOOL <sup>46</sup>*Amphora, type A.*

- (1) Berlin 2160. Gerhard, *E.C.V.* Pls. 8-9; Winter, *Jahreshefte*, 3. Pls. 4. 3 and 5, 1 and p. 121; *J.H.S.* xxxi. Pls. 15-16 and p. 276.<sup>47</sup>

*Amphora, type C.*

- (2) New York. Hearst collection. Pl. II. and Figs. 1-2.

*Amphorae of Panathenaic shape.*

- (3) Vatican. *Mus. Greg.* ii. Pl. 58, 2; photos. Alinari 35775-6.  
 (4) Munich 2312 (J. 54). F.R.H. Pl. 134, 1, and text, 3, p. 77.  
 (5) Munich 2310 (J. 1). Pl. IV, 1; A, *V.A.* p. 35.  
 (6) Munich 2313 (J. 9). Pl. IV, 2 and Fig. 8; A, *J.H.S.* xxxi. Pl. 8, 2.  
 (7) Vatican H. 488. *Mus. Greg.* ii. Pl. 58, 1; A, *J.H.S.* xxxi. Pl. 8, 1; A and B, photos. Alinari 35773-4 = Pl. III.  
 (8) Cabinet des Médailles 386, fragment. De Ridder, p. 280.  
 (9) Würzburg 319. F.R.H. Pl. 134, 2.  
 (10) Bryn Mawr, fragment. *J.H.S.* xxxi. Pl. 10, 1; Swindler, *A.J.A.* 1916. p. 334.  
 (11) Naples R.C. 163. Gabrici, *Mon. Linc.* xxii. Pl. 82; B, Fig. 4.  
 (12) Florence 3989.  
 (13) Leyden 18 h 34. *J.H.S.* xxxi. Pl. 13.  
 (14) Munich 2311 (J. 52). Pl. V.; A, *J.H.S.* xxxi. 278; A, *V.A.* p. 36.  
 (15) Athens, Acropolis G 139a, fragment. Fig. 5.

<sup>46</sup> I have already put together most of these vases in *J.H.S.* xxxi. 276-295; *Burlington Magazine*, xxvii. pp. 137-138; and *V.A.* pp. 35-40 and p. 193. See also Hauser, F.R.H. 3. pp. 77-80. and Perrot, *Histoire de l'Art*, x. pp. 630-634.

Mr. Perrot exhibits considerable caution at first: between the Berlin and Würzburg vases, he begins, there is 'une ressemblance assez marquée pour que l'on soit fort tenté d'y voir l'œuvre d'un même artiste, auquel il y a peut-être lieu d'attribuer plusieurs autres peintures, qui ne sont pas sans analogie avec celles des deux vases. . . . Many of my tokens (indices), however, are not very convincing: 'c'est vraiment abuser de la conjecture.' As he proceeds, he becomes bolder: he is now ready to define the style of the artist (pp. 632, 634). There is some subtlety here which escapes me: one would have expected Mr. Perrot to make quite sure that the artist existed before attempting to define his style.

Finally he steps into the ring himself: 'à la liste qui en (of the artist's works) a été dressée, nous serions tentés d'ajouter le groupe d'Alece et de Sapho' (F.R. Pl. 64; Perrot, x. Pl. 15). This looks almost as if Mr. Perrot accepted the list; else why should he be tempted to add to it? Let us now see the tokens ('indices') which lead him to make this striking attribution. 'L'œil n'y est pas encore franchement ouvert; le tracé est le même que dans les profils des têtes de nos deux amphores. La longue barbe d'Alece, qui tombe en pointe sur sa poitrine, rappelle la barbe du Silène compagnon d'Hermès.' Evidently we must number Mr. Perrot also among the connoisseurs.

In the list in the text above I have given the subjects of the pictures only where the vase was unpublished and not mentioned in my previous accounts.

<sup>47</sup> See note 24.

(16) Formerly in the Paris market (Rollin). *Él. Cér.* ii. Pl. 16.

(17) London, B.M. E 287. A small school-piece.

The small vase Cabinet des Médailles 378 (Luynes, Pl. 40) belongs to the later school or following of the Berlin painter.

*Neck-amphorae with twisted handles.*

(18) B.M. E 266. *J.H.S.* xxxi. Pls. 11-12 and p. 281.

(19) Louvre G 199, fragmentary.

(20) Munich 2319 (J. 8). School-piece?

(21) Petrograd 612 (St. 1638). A, *Compte-Rendu*, 1775, p. 66. School-piece?

(22) B.M. E 268. *Él. Cér.* i. Pl. 76. School-piece?

(23) Leyden 18 h 33. *Él. Cér.* i. Pl. 76 A. School-piece?

(24) Berlin 2339. School-piece?

(25) B.M. E 269. School-piece?

(26) B.M. E 267. Birch, *Archaeologia*, xxxi. Pl. 4. School-piece?

(27) Louvre G 198, fragmentary. School-piece?

(28) Vatican H. 490, fragmentary. *Mus. Greg.* ii. Pl. 59, 3. School-piece?

(29) Munich 2318 (J. 5). F. Thiersch, *Ueber die hellenischen bemalten Vasen*, Pl. 5; B, Lau, Pl. 25, 1. Badly repainted. School-piece?

(30) Oxford 274. P. Gardner, *Ashmolean Vases*, Pl. 11. A small school-piece.<sup>48</sup>

*Small neck-amphora with double handles.*

(31) Harvard 1643, 95. A, *V.A.* p. 39; A, Hambidge, *The Greek Vase*, frontispiece and p. 45.

*Nolan amphorae with triple handles.*

(32) Formerly in the Panckoucke collection. A, *Él. Cér.* iv. Pl. 49.

(33) Naples 3137. A, small photograph, Sommer 11069, third row first.

(34) Louvre G 201.

(35) Mannheim.

(36) Naples 3192.

(37) Vienna.

<sup>48</sup> All these vases, save the small vase in Oxford, are of a single type. There are only five other vases of just this type: the first, Munich 2317 (Jahn 2; Lutzow, *Munchener Antiken*, Pl. 18 and p. 30), is contemporary with the earlier members of our series, and is the work of the Eucharides painter (*B.S.I.* xviii. p. 224, No. 6). The second and third, in Providence (Gerhard, *A.V.* Pl. 24) and in the Vatican (*Mus. Greg.* ii. Pl. 59, 2; A, phot. Alinari 35813), are by the Providence painter, who seems to have been at one time a pupil of the Berlin painter (see note 50); the fourth (Petrograd 696; A, *Compte-rendu*, 1875,

p. 199, and Waldhauer, *Katakoc Opisanic*, Pl., p. 88, Fig. 9) is by a pupil of the Berlin painter, Hermonax: the foot is lost, but in all other respects the vase corresponds to the Berlin painter's type. The last and latest is the Euphorbos vase in the Cabinet des Médailles (*Mon.* ii. Pl. 14; A, phot. Giraudon); it is by the Achilles painter, a craft-descendant of the Berlin painter in the third craft-generation (*J.H.S.* xxxiv. 187, No. 2). We noticed above (note 41) that the only amphora of type A or B, which was decorated in the same manner as the Berlin amphora, was also by the Achilles painter.

- (38) New York 07.286.69. A, *V.A.* p. 37.
- (39) Tarporley. Hon. Marshall Brooks (formerly in the Biscoe collection).
- (40) Naples 3150. A, small photograph, Sommer 11069, second row, seventh.
- (41) Naples 3087.
- (42) Dresden 289. School-piece?
- (43) Karlsruhe 203. Welter. *Aus der Karlsruher Vasensammlung*, Pl. 11, No. 30 B and A. School-piece?
- (44) Yale 133. School-piece?
- (45) Louvre G 219. School-piece?
- (46) Louvre G 218. School-piece?
- (47) Rome, Museo Barracco. School-piece?
- (48) Tarporley, Hon. Marshall Brooks (formerly in Deepdene). Tischbein, iii. Pl. 7: *Él. Cér.* i. Pl. 99. School-piece?
- (49) Petrograd 697 (St. 1628). School-piece?
- (50) Naples inv. 126053.<sup>49</sup> School-piece?
- (51) Girgenti, Baron Giudice. School-piece?
- (52) Frankfurt. Städtisches-historisches Museum. School-piece?
- (53) B.M. E 310. School-piece?
- (54) B.M. E 313. School-piece?
- (55) Louvre G 204. Dubois, *Description des antiquités . . . Pourtalès-Gorgier*, p. 27; *Catalogue Pourtalès-Gorgier*, p. 29, No. 132; Müller-Wieseler, 2, Pl. 2, 9. School-piece?
- (56) Naples 3214. School-piece?
- (57) Oxford 275. P. Gardner, *J.H.S.* xiii. 137. School-piece.
- (58) Brussels. School-piece.
- (59) Naples (A. Dionysos and maenad running; B, maenad running). School-piece.
- (60) Naples 3068. School-piece.
- (61) Villa Giulia (formerly in Augusto Castellani's collection). School-piece.
- (62) Louvre G 214 (*Bull. Nap.* n.s. 6. Pl. 7): a later school-piece.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Hoppin (*Handbook*, i. p. 62, No. 26) confounds this vase with Naples Heyd. 3129, which is by a different and much later painter.

<sup>50</sup> The tradition of the Berlin painter's Nolan amphorae is continued, on the one hand by the Providence painter (*V.A.* pp. 76-80; the Nolan amphorae, *ibid.* pp. 78-79), who seems to have detached himself, however, from the Berlin painter before very long, and competed with him; and on the other, more directly, by Hermonax. Five Nolan amphorae by Hermonax are mentioned in *V.A.* p. 127. Nos. 34-38; others are in London (E 311; *Él. Cér.* i. Pl. 39) and in Naples (A, Zeus:

B, woman with torches); and three rough vases (Brussels, *Él. Cér.* iii. Pl. 22; Dresden 309, and Altenburg 280) are probably also his. The subsequent stage in the tradition is represented by the Nolan amphorae of the Achilles painter and his pupils and imitators: a list of his Nolan amphorae is given in *J.H.S.* pp. 192-196; add Naples 3093 (Triptolemos) and Munich 2336 (J. 263; A, Lau, Pl. 24, 2). The Nolan amphorae of the Achilles painter are succeeded by those of his pupil, the painter of the Boston phiale (*V.A.* pp. 168-169; add Cambridge 167 and Naples Santangelo 240).



*Pelikai.*

- (63) Villa Giulia (formerly in Augusto Castellani's collection).  
 (64) Vienna, Oest. Mus. 334. A, Masner, Pl. 6. School-piece?

*Volute-Kraters.*

- (65) B.M. E 468. *J.H.S.* xxxi. Pl. 14 and p. 283: detail, *B.M. Guide to the Exhibition illustrating Greek and Roman Life*, p. 101, fig. 102.  
 (66) Louvre G 166, fragments.<sup>51</sup>

*Calyx-Kraters.*

- (67) Winchester, fragment. Herford, *Handbook of Greek Vase Painting*, p. 72.  
 (68) Athens, Acropolis, G 28, fragments.  
 (69) Syracuse.  
 (70) Oxford 291. School-piece?

*Bell-Kraters.*

- (71) Corneto. A, phot. Moscioni = *J.H.S.* xxxi. Pl. 10, 2.  
 (72) Louvre G 174.  
 (73) Louvre G 175. *Annali*, 1876, Pl. C; *J.H.S.* xxxi. 284.  
 (74) Formerly in the Roman market (Depoletti).

*Column-Kraters.*

- (75) Petrograd 635 (St. 1528). A, *Compte-Rendu*, 1873, p. 22; B, Fig. 7.  
 (76) Villa Giulia (formerly in Augusto Castellani's collection).

*Stamnoi.*

- (77) Munich 2406 (J. 421). Gerhard, *A.V.* Pl. 201; F.R.H. Pl. 106, 2, and 2, p. 235.  
 (78) Louvre G 56. A, Pottier, *Album*, Pl. 95.  
 (79) Palermo. Inghirami, *V.F.* i. Pls. 77-78.  
 (80) Louvre G 186. A, *Cat. Coll. A. B(arre)*, Pl. 5; one of the figures on B, Fig. 6.

<sup>51</sup> My attribution of Louvre G 166 to the Berlin painter (*B.S.A.* xviii. p. 226 note 1, and *V.A.* p. 40) was based on the picture on the reverse. A fresh examination has convinced me that the obverse pictures (phot. Giraudon = *Mons. Piot*, ix. p. 39) are not by the same hand as the reverse. I do not think, however, that this is an instance of two painters working on one vase. The vase is in miserable condition; Mr. Pottier had already observed that the upper picture on the reverse was completely modern; but the foot is also

modern, and the big palmette-designs on the body are a modern addition. Moreover, unless I am greatly mistaken, the man who built up the vase used fragments of two different volute-kraters, one by the Berlin painter, and one by another artist. It is well known that such a procedure was not uncommon in the last century; Mr. De Mot once told me that he had found a pelike in the Ravestein collection to consist of fragments from six different vases.

- (81) Castle Ashby 25. Detail of B, *Burl. Mag.* xxviii. Pl. p. 138, G.  
 (82) Louvre G 185. *Mon.* 6-7, Pl. 67.  
 (83) Oxford 1912, 1165 (given by Mr. E. P. Warren). *J.H.S.* xxxi. Pl. 17; the lion, *Burl. Mag.* xxviii. Pl. p. 137, C.  
 (84) Louvre G 172. *Gaz. Arch.* 1875, Pl. 1, 14-15. School-piece?  
 (85) Castle Ashby 2.  
 (86) Berlin 2187, fragment. School-piece?  
 (87) Leipsic, fragment (head of old man, and shield). School-piece?  
 (88) Vatican. *Mus. Greg.* ii, Pl. 21, 1.<sup>52</sup> School-piece?  
 (89) B.M. E. 444. School-piece.  
 (90) Berlin 2186. *Annali*, 1860, Pl. M. School-piece, late.  
 (91) Boston 91, 226. School-piece.  
 (92) Boston 91, 227A. Robinson, *Cat.* Pl. p. 152; Hauser, *Jahrbuch*, xxix. p. 30. School-piece.  
 (93) Louvre G 371. Strube, *Bilderkreis von Eleusis*, Pl. 1 = Overbeck, *K.M.* Pl. 15, No. 20. School-piece.  
 Louvre G 370 (*Mon.* 6-7, Pl. 58, 2); is a school-piece, from the hand of the Providence painter (*V.A.* p. 80, no. 43).<sup>53</sup>

*Hydriai of black-figured shape.*

- (94) Cabinet des Médailles 439. Phot. Giraudon 75. School-piece?  
 (95) Madrid 160. Ossorio, Pl. 35, 3: detail. *Burl. Mag.* xxviii. p. 136, B.  
 (96) Vatican H. 497. *Mus. Greg.* ii. Pl. 15, 1; *Mon.* 1, Pl. 46. Photos. Moscioni 8575 and Alinari 35778-9.

*Hydriai-Kalpides.*

- (97) New York 10, 210, 19. *J.H.S.* xxxi. Pl. 9 and Fig. 7.  
 (98) Formerly in the Guarducci collection. Inghirami, *V.F.* i. Pl. 63.  
 (99) Petrograd 628 (St. 1588). *Burl. Mag.* xxviii. p. 136, A, and p. 139, D-F.  
 (100) Boulogne 449.  
 (101) Boston 03, 843, fragment.  
 (102) Cabinet des Médailles 441. De Ridder, p. 333. School-piece.

*Lekythoi.*

- (103) Athens 12394 (N. 1628). *Eph. Arch.* 1907, p. 234.  
 (104) Palermo (komast).

<sup>52</sup> Hoppin (*Handbook*, i. p. 73, No. 94) confounds this vase with the stamnos *Mus. Greg.* ii. Pl. 19, 1, which is by the Aegisthus painter (*A.J.A.* 1916, p. 147, note 1: see Hoppin, 1, p. 79, No. 8).

<sup>53</sup> B.M. E. 445 (Gerhard, *A.V.* Pls. 174-175) is a later school-piece, contemporary with the earlier work of Hermonax. The series of stamnoi initiated by the Oxford

Pentheus stamnos mentioned above, in which a single picture runs right round the vase, is continued by Hermonax; a list of his stamnoi is given in *V.A.* p. 124; the Busiris stamnos in Oxford (521: *Annali*, 1865. Pls. P-Q; *J.H.S.* xxiv. 307-308) stands very close to the earlier work of Hermonax.

- (105) Palermo 2683 (young warrior).
- (106) Palermo (Nike flying with head frontal).
- (107) Syracuse. Orsi, *Mon. Linc.* xvii. Pl. 19.
- (108) Girgenti, Baron Giudice (Maenad running).
- (109) Munich A 915. (Demeter.)
- (110) Terranova, Cav. Navarra. Benndorf, *G.S.V.* Pl. 49, 2. School-piece.
- (111) Girgenti, Baron Giudice (woman running). School-piece.
- (112) B.M. E. 574. Phot. Mansell 3195 middle = Walters, *Ancient Pottery*, i. Pl. 36, 2. School-piece.
- (113) Palermo (Poseidon running).<sup>54</sup> School-piece.
- (114) Syracuse. Orsi, *Mon. Linc.* xvii. Pl. 15, 2. School-piece.
- (115) Berlin 2208. Genick, Pl. 39, 3; von Lücken, *Greek Vase Paintings*, Pl. 48, left. School-piece.
- (116) New York (woman running with torch and phiale). School-piece.
- (117) Compiègne (woman running with torch). School-piece.
- (118) Oxford 323. School-piece.
- (119) Harvard 4.08.
- (120) Munich 2475 (the body black: a lion on the shoulder).<sup>55</sup>

*Oinochoai, shape 1.*

- (121) B.M. E 513. *Él. Cér.* i. Pl. 93; phot. Mansell.<sup>56</sup>
- (122) B.M. E 514. *Él. Cér.* ii. 1, Pl. 12. School-piece.

*Oinochoai, shape 3.*

- (123) Munich 2453 (J. 789).
- (124) New York. *Catalogue des Objets d'Art antiques 'vente' Hôtel Drouot*, le 7 juin 1922, Pl. 4, no. 56.

*Lekanis.*

- (125) Taranto. School-piece?

*Plate.*

- (126) Athens, Acropolis B9, fragment.

*Fragments, the shapes of the vases not determined.*

- (127) Brussels (two fragments, each with part of a male leg and foot).
- (128) Bonn (young warrior). School-piece?
- (129) The Hague, Mr. C. W. Lunsingh Scheurleer (foot, and stopt key).
- (130) The Hague, Mr. C. W. Lunsingh Scheurleer (part of a female figure with oinochoe).
- (131) Athens (phallos-man).
- (132) Munich Z 1 (young rider; from a small vase).

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<sup>54</sup> Miscalled a kalpis by Hoppin (*Hand-book*, i. p. 71, No. 82 bis).

<sup>55</sup> The line of lekythoi which is headed by those of the Berlin painter runs parallel to the line of Nolan amphorae described

in note 50.

<sup>56</sup> Lately cleaned: part of the characteristic ankle, previously invisible, and omitted in the old publication, reappeared.

- (133) Munich Z 6 (head of youth; from a small vase).  
 (134) Munich Z 7 and 8 (parts of two male figures wearing the himation: from a neck-amphora of no great size).  
 (135) Florence (Campana collection: upper parts of a silen and of Dionysos holding a cantharos; from a small vase).

Let us return to our citharode. I am sensible that I have not got his lower lip quite right: the error is tiny, but the Greek artist, if he could see my drawing, would complain that I had made the lad look licentious. I am aware that the right hand of the instructor is not quite accurate in my copy: it is a trifle less incompetent in the original; but the Greek artist would admit that this was not his most successful hand. In spite of such faults, the drawings, in conjunction with the photographs, give a good idea of the singular beauty of the original: they show the powerful shape of the vase, the sobriety of the decoration, the clarity of the design, the sureness and strength of the black and brown lines, the light yet vigorous movement in the expressive figure of the musician. The Berlin painter drew many musicians, both citharodes and lyre-players; but none so animated as this. The Rollin citharode is older and statelier, and he has acquired the correct majestic manner: <sup>57</sup> even the satyr musicians, on the vases in Berlin and Munich, are grave in demeanour and deliberate in action. To find a counterpart to our citharode we must turn to works by other artists: to the Dionysos on the cup by the Brygos painter in the Cabinet des Médailles: <sup>58</sup> or to the Judgment of Paris on a cup with the signature of Brygos in the Louvre; <sup>59</sup> where Paris sits singing to his lyre in the lonely hills, and where the abstraction of the singer gives the picture a peculiar tone. Archaic art portrays the influence of music on the player: and sometimes the influence on the hearer: it shows men capering and bawling at the sound of the flute; but such influence as does not issue in violent gesture it is hardly able to express. The artists of a later period set themselves to represent the quieter emotion which reveals itself not in gesticulation but in attitude. In the Berlin krater with Orpheus and the Thracians, which belongs to the third quarter of the fifth century, <sup>60</sup> the musician himself is conceived in much the same manner as Paris on the archaic cup; but his hearers, in the varied expressiveness of their bodies and faces, go far beyond the capacity of the archaic style. On an oinochoe in the Villa Giulia, <sup>61</sup> a lyre-player is mounting the platform, and two girls are waiting for the first notes. One of them sits with face up, an arm cast along her knee, her chin propped on one hand, her whole body relaxed. The scene is the same, in the main, as on a much earlier

<sup>57</sup> Compare the young citharode on the neck-amphora by the Providence painter in the Vatican, *Mus. Greg.* ii. Pl. 59, 2; phot. Ahnari 35813.

<sup>58</sup> 576. Hartwig, Pl. 531: repainted in parts; the drawing is unworthy of the original.

<sup>59</sup> *Mon.* 1856, Pl. 14 = W.F. S. Pl. 3 = Hoppin, *Handbook*, i. p. 116; new but J.H.S.—VOL. XLII.

poor drawings in Perrot, *Histoire de l'Art*, x. pp. 559–561.

<sup>60</sup> Furtwängler, *50 Berliner Wandgemäldesprogramm*, Pl. 2 = *Kleine Schriften* 2, Pl. 59; Buschor, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, p. 197; see also Hauser, F.R.H. 3, pp. 108–109.

<sup>61</sup> Savignoni, *Bollettino d'Arte*, 10, p. 347.

vase, the calyx-krater signed by Euphronios;<sup>62</sup> but there the listeners are scarcely characterised: Polyces looks expectant, but he shows it by his raised chin only: the girl on the oinochoe is listening with her whole body. In another picture of about the same period as the Orpheus vase and the oinochoe, the Terpsichore in London,<sup>63</sup> the characterisation of the figures is less marked than in the others: the artist wishes to render a less passionate, more solemn, more Apollonian mood: he has not succeeded, for his figures, meant to be plain and grand, are in fact a little empty.

All these pictures of music are simple drawings, without shading and without colouring. When we moderns think of a music picture, our minds turn to Signorelli's Pan, to some Dutch interior, to some Venetian landscape, where the impression is determined, in great measure, by the harmony of colour and by chiaroscuro. Such music pictures cannot have existed in the fifth century. But in a later work, the Pan and Nymphs from Pompeii,<sup>64</sup> colour and landscape combine with composition to make a music picture of memorable charm.

J. D. BEAZLEY.

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<sup>62</sup> F.R. 2, Pl. 93, 1 = Hoppin, *Handbook*, i. p. 397; Pottier, *Album*, Pl. 101. <sup>64</sup> Herrmann, *Denkmäler der Malerei*, Pl. 69.

<sup>63</sup> F.R.H. Pl. 139; Buschor, p. 199.

NOTE.—My thanks are due to Dr. Sieveking, to Comm. Nogara, to Mr. Pottier, and to Dr. Waldhauer for giving me permission to publish vases in Munich, in the Vatican, in the Louvre and in Petrograd; and to Messrs. Ahnari for allowing me to use their photographs of a vase in the Vatican.

## THE CALIPH MAMOUN AND THE PROPHET DANIEL

### I. CALIPH MAMOUN AND THE MAGIC FISH

THE circumstances attending the death of the Caliph Mamoun (A.D. 833) are thus related by Masoudi († c. 956), who wrote about a century after the event. On his return from a victorious raid against the Greeks the Caliph encamped in the beautiful valley of Bedidoun.<sup>1</sup> Like all Orientals, he was susceptible to the charm of clear, running water, and at his orders a rustic pavilion was constructed over the spring called Kochairah, from which the river Bedidoun flowed. In this the Caliph sat. A silver coin was thrown into the spring, and so clear was the water that the legend of the coin beneath its surface could be read. Mamoun then noticed in the spring a fish 'a cubit long and shining like an ingot of silver,' which he desired should be caught for him. This was done, but the fish, when brought to the Caliph, escaped by a sudden movement into the spring, sprinkling the Caliph's breast, neck and shoulders with cold water as it did so. It was again caught, and the Caliph gave orders that it should be cooked. As he did so he was seized by a shivering fit, and when the fish was cooked he was in a high fever and unable to eat it. This was the beginning of the illness which caused his death. Before this took place he had the guides and prisoners called and asked them the significance of the name of the spring Kochairah. He was told that it meant 'stretch out thy feet,' which he took for an omen of his death. He then asked the Arab name of the country he was in: the reply was 'Rakkah.' As it had been foretold him that he should die at a place thus named, he knew that his hour was come. And he died then and was carried to Tarsus and buried on the left side of the mosque.<sup>2</sup>

As to the local nomenclature in this story two observations may be made. (1) To Masoudi and the Arabs the name *Kochairah* meant nothing: but the historian says that some held that it was *Bedidoun*, and not *Kochairah*, that meant 'stretch out thy feet.' We have thus clearly a local Greek derivation of Podandus from πούς (foot) and τείνω (stretch).<sup>3</sup>

In *Rakkah* we have probably to do with a corrupt form of the name of the neighbouring Byzantine fortress Herakleia, called by the Arabs Irakla:

<sup>1</sup> Podandus, the modern Bozanti, two days from Tarsus on the post-road to Eregh.

<sup>2</sup> *Les Prairies d'Or*, ed. and tr. Barbier de Meynard, vii, pp. 1-2 and 96-101.

<sup>3</sup> If the pun seems far-fetched, what about Ἰκόνιον διὰ τὸ ἡκέναι τὸν Περρεα (Preger, *Script. Orig. Constant.* i. 72)? For punning on local names cf. Theoph.

Cont. Const. Porph., V. xxv, p. 113 P, A.D. 838 (cf. Bury, *J.H.S.* 1909, 125), where Omar inquires the local names from Greek captives and derives bad omens from the names. The idea is probably Greek, as in both cases the Moslem comes off badly and the puns are Greek.

the resemblance between *Rakka* and *Irakla* is close enough for the purpose of the story.<sup>4</sup>

The story itself is pretty evidently based on a folk-legend turning on the theme of inevitable fate.<sup>5</sup> But what is the point of the elaborate fish episode? It is clear that the fish was a magic fish, otherwise it could not have caused the Caliph's death as it did. The only hypothesis which really explains the story is that both spring and fish were sacred, that the Caliph sinned by wishing to catch the fish, and persisted in his sin even after his first warning. This hypothesis is backed by two points. (1) The Greek name of the spring is given as *Aïdareka*, which evidently contains the name of a saint, to whom the spring was held sacred by Christians. (2) A coin was thrown into it,<sup>6</sup> evidently in accordance with the world-wide custom at sacred springs and wells. This incident may be held to prove that the Caliph knew from the first that the spring was sacred. One can hardly doubt that the tale came originally from a hostile (Christian) source. Masoudi had plenty of opportunity for access to non-Moslem writers and is said not infrequently to have made use of them.

The memory of Mamoun seems to have survived at Tarsus, at least among the learned, till the middle of the seventeenth century, when the incidents recorded of his death were located not at Podandus (Bozanti), but quite near Tarsus itself.<sup>7</sup> Of his tomb nothing is recorded after the thirteenth century, when it was still a Moslem pilgrimage, though Cilicia was in Christian hands and the mosque had become a church of SS. Peter and Sophia. This curious fact rests on the authority of Yakout (1225)<sup>8</sup> and Willibrand of Oldenburg (1211).<sup>9</sup> The latter speaks of the tomb as that of the 'sister of Mahommed,' which looks as if the identity of its occupant was already becoming vague among the common folk. The church of SS. Peter and Sophia is thought by Langlois<sup>10</sup> to have occupied the site of the present Oulou Djami, a purely Mahommedan building, but this is far from proved.

## II. SACRED FISHES IN THE LEVANT

Sacred springs are exceedingly common in Turkish lands. Christians regularly, and Turks occasionally, associate them with the names of their saints. Springs containing sacred fish are not uncommon in Syria. Most famous are the fish of the sacred tank dimly connected with Abraham at Urfa.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>4</sup> An Armenian authority of 1108 (cited by Tomaschek in *Sitzb. Wien. Akad., Phil. Hist. Cl.* cxxiv, 1891, viii, 66) speaks of a fortress *Krakka* near Kybistra or Herakleia (Kybistra = Eregh).

<sup>5</sup> The lesson seems never to be learnt.

<sup>6</sup> For this world-wide practice see Frazer's note on *Paus.* i, 34 (4). For Asia Minor see V. de Bunsen, *Soul of a Turk*, p. 173. Niebuhr (*Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 281) records that the Yezidis are reported to throw gold and silver into a cistern at Sheikh Adi in honour of their samt, and he compares the Jebel Sindjar practice.

<sup>7</sup> Hadja Khalfa, tr. Norberg, ii, 360.

<sup>8</sup> Le Strange, *E. Caliphate*, p. 133.

<sup>9</sup> Ed. Leo Allatius, Εἰσακτα, 137.

<sup>10</sup> *Voyage dans la Cilicie*, p. 317. See my *Graves of the Arabs* in *B.S.A.* xix, p. 182.

<sup>11</sup> The first modern writer to mention it seems to be an Italian merchant (c. 1507: see *Italian Travels in Persia*, ed. Hakluyt Soc., p. 144). See also Barkley, *Asia Minor*, p. 254; Buckingham, *Travels in Mesopotamia*, i, 111; Warkworth, *Diary in Asiatic Turkey*, p. 242; Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, II, i, 160; Tavernier, *Voyages*, p. 68; Olivier, *Voyage*, iv, 218; Sachau, *Reise in Syrien*, p. 197; S. Silvia, ed. Geyer, p. 62; Thévenot, *Voyages*, iii, 141; de

and the fish of Sheikh Bedawi at Tripoli,<sup>12</sup> which are treated with the greatest respect and never caught. An interesting passage in Feburé's *Théâtre de la Turquie* probably refers to the Tripoli fish, almost certainly to Syria. It runs as follows:—

'Ils ont une espee de respect & de veneration pour les poissons de certains lacs & fontaines, où qui que ce soit n'ozeroit pescher, si ce n'est de nuit & en cachette, le plus secretement qu'ils peuvent; ce qui fait qu'ils s'y multiplient en tres-grande quantité, & qu'il y en a de monstrueux. Ils les appellent Chees [i. e. *Sheikhs*] qui est la qualité qu'ils donnent à leurs principaux Religieux, & leur allument la nuit des lampes par devotion.'<sup>13</sup>

The stages in the development of these Syrian fish-cults seem to have been as follows. First the fish as the denizen of the spring is regarded as the incarnation of the spring divinity himself, whence the fish-tailed Baals of Syria;<sup>14</sup> later it is conceived of as a sort of *famulus* of the divinity, under his immediate protection. Numerous secular folk-stories of Eastern origin deal with fish possessed of miraculous powers as well as with fish which are really human beings enchanted.<sup>15</sup>

Similar fish-cults in the Turkish are hard to find. Fish are preserved in the sacred well of the Shama-pur Tekkeh near Aladja<sup>16</sup> in Paphlagonia, while on the Christian side we have at Constantinople a well-known instance in the famous fish of Baluklu.<sup>17</sup> We should probably find that both these are ultimately of Syrian origin. The religious significance of the fishes concerned seems to have died down to a minimum. The fishes of Baluklu at least have become a mere peg for folk imagination.<sup>18</sup> Those of Aladja are probably thought of as deriving their sanctity merely from their sacred surroundings, just as the fish of the river which flows by the tomb of Daniel at Susa are now said to be immune from capture in honour of the prophet;<sup>19</sup> though the origin

Bunsen, *Soul of a Turk*, p. 218; Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 330; Rubens-Duval, *Hist. d'Edesse*, in *Journ. Asiat.* 1891-2, p. 92.

<sup>12</sup> Lortet, *La Syrie d'aujourd'hui*, p. 58 f.; d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 390-1; Burekhardt, *Travels in Syria*, p. 166; Kelly, *Syria and the Holy Land*, p. 106; Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 130; Soury, *Études sur la Grèce*, p. 66.

<sup>13</sup> Paris, 1682, p. 35. Cf. Jessup, *Women of the Arabs*, pp. 296-7, who says one black fish at Tripoli is the *Sheikh* of the saints, whose souls are in the fish of the pool. Death is supposed to follow the eating of these fish, but the sceptical Jessup experimented without any untoward results. During the Crimean War many of the fish went off under the sea to Sebastopol and fought the infidel Russians, some returning wounded.

<sup>14</sup> For a fish river-god in Asia Minor see the dedication ΠΟΤΑΜΩ ΕΤΥΧΗΝ in *J.H.S.* xix, 76 (32).

<sup>15</sup> Cosquin, *Contes de Lorraine*, i, 60;

Hariland, *Persens*, i, 24; Legrand, *Contes Grecs*, p. 161, all give examples of magic fish. The first story in Burton's edition of the *Arabian Nights* mentions a bewitched fish.

<sup>16</sup> Wilson in Murray's *Asia Minor*, p. 36; Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, i, 403; H. J. Ross, *Letters from the East*, p. 243. The fish mentioned by Hamilton (*op. cit.* i, 98) at Mohimoul near Tauschanli may also have been sacred. For sacred fish near Afium Kara Hissar see Calder in *J.R.S.* ii, 246.

<sup>17</sup> Carnoy et Nicolaides, *Folklore de Constantinople*, pp. 54 ff. (many versions). See my forthcoming *Studies in Popular Religion*.

<sup>18</sup> Fishes are similarly kept in the *agasmata* of ΠΑΡΑΥΙΑ ΠΑΓΑΡΙΩΤΙΣΣΑ at Gemlek (Kios) in Bithynia, but this is probably due to the influence of Constantinople.

<sup>19</sup> Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, p. 240; cf. Benjamin of Tudela, ed. Asher, i, 117 ff.; Carnoy, *Itinéraires de la Terre Sainte*, p. 459 (citing Iehus Ha-Abot (A.D. 1564), ed. Uri de Biel).



of the *tabu* is explained by a historical legend, it may be older than the tomb itself. The fish, that is, may have begun as the incarnation of the river deity, to be eventually ousted by the personality of the prophet and degraded to the position of a mere *protégé*.

### III. THE TOMB OF DANIEL AT TARSUS

What appears to be the chief Moslem pilgrimage of modern Tarsus is the Mosque known as Makam Hazreti Daniel ('Station of his Excellency Daniel'), which is supposed to contain the grave of the Prophet Daniel.<sup>20</sup> This grave has been shown as Daniel's certainly since the latter part of the seventeenth century. Lucas says in his description of Tarsus: 'les Habitans assurent que c'est chez eux où est mort le Prophète Daniel: j'entrâi dans une Mosquée, sous laquelle on pretend qu'il a été enterré. Les Turcs y ont mis sur une grande tombe un cercueil de bois, qu'ils reverent; & ils le font voir eux-mêmes comme une rareté. Ce cercueil est toujours couvert d'un grand drap noir en broderie.'<sup>21</sup>

Barker, for many years consul at Tarsus, gives the following description of the tomb:—

'The Turks hold in great veneration a tomb which they believe contains the bones of this prophet, situated in an ancient Christian church, converted into a mosque, in the centre of the modern town of Tarsus. The sarcophagus is said to be about *forty feet below* the surface of the present soil, in consequence of the accumulation of earth and stones; and over which a stream flows from the Cydnus river, of comparatively modern date. Over this stream, at the particular spot where the sarcophagus was (before the canal was cut and the waters went over it), stands the ancient church above mentioned; and to mark the exact spot of the tomb below, a wooden monument has been erected in the Turkish style. [This monument is covered with an embroidered cloth, and stands in a special apartment built for it, from the iron-grated windows of which it may occasionally be seen when the Armenians take occasion to make their secret devotions; but generally a curtain is dropped to hide it from vulgar view, and add by exclusion to the sanctity of the place.] The waters of this rivulet are turned off every year in the summer, in order to clear the bed of the canal.'<sup>22</sup>

This 'tomb of Daniel' continues down to our own day to be an object of Moslem veneration. The best authenticated 'tomb of Daniel' is, however, the interesting sanctuary at Sus (Shushan?), the traditions of which seem to go back at least to the sixth century A.D.<sup>23</sup> A point of contact between the two graves, noted by Barker, is that both are said to lie beneath

<sup>20</sup> It is mentioned by Lucas and Barker (cited below), also by Langlois, *Cilicie*, p. 329, and by Cuinet, *Turq. d'Asie*, ii. 48.

<sup>21</sup> *Voyage dans la Grèce*, i. 272 f. (Amsterdam, 1714). Hadji Khalfa is silent. The legend of Daniel in Cilicia at Shah Meran

Kalesi is omitted in Bianchi's translation of Menassik-el-Hadj (in *Recueil de Voyages*, ii. 103).

<sup>22</sup> *Lares and Penates*, p. 17, and note.

<sup>23</sup> Theodosius, *De Situ Terrarum Sanctarum*, ed. Tobler, 359 (ed. Geyer, p. 149).

streams.<sup>24</sup> A learned Mussulman professor, consulted at my request by Dr. Christie of Tarsus, gave it as his opinion that the identification of the younger 'tomb of Daniel' rested on a confusion between *Sus* and *Tarsus*, which is probably correct; the coincidence (?) of the grave being under a stream may have aided, or even have been devised to aid, popular acceptance of the Tarsian 'tomb of Daniel.' There seems a considerable probability that it really marks the site of Mamoun's grave,<sup>25</sup> which would thus have been continuously venerated, under various names, from the death of the Caliph to our own day: we may readily conceive that the name of its occupant became lost under the Armenian kings, though the spot was vaguely known to be sacred. At some date unknown, the name of Daniel was given to it under learned inspiration. With the incident of Mamoun and the magic fish transferred, as we have seen it was, to the immediate neighbourhood of Tarsus, it would be interesting to know whether the new 'tomb of Daniel,' like the old, places a *tabu* on the neighbouring stream, since this would form a link between the cycles of Caliph and Prophet.

<sup>24</sup> For the tomb of Daniel at Sus see *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, iv. 430, s.v. *Daniel, Tomb of*; for details of its legendary history Asher's edition of Benjamin of Tudela, i. 117 ff., and for its present state Ouseley, *Travels*, i. 420; Loftus, *Travels in Chaldaea*, pp. 416 ff.; de Bode, *Travels in Lauristan*, ii. 190; Rawlinson in *J.R.G.S.* ix. (1839) 69, 83; Layard in *J.R.G.S.* xvi. (1846) 61. Cf. also Carmoly's *Itinéraires*, pp. 489 ff. A plan is given by Loftus in *Trans. Roy.*

*Soc. Lit.* v. (1856) to face p. 422: a view is given by Flandin and Coste, *Voyage en Perse*, Pl. 100, and a sketch accompanied by a short account of the tomb may be found in the *Field* of July 13, 1918.

<sup>25</sup> There is, of course, no proof of the 'Mosque of Daniel' occupying the site of the church of SS. Peter and Sophia; but the former is placed by Barker (*loc. cit.*), as the latter is by Willibrand (in Allatius, *Συναγῆγα*, p. 137), in the centre of the town.

F. W. HASLUCK.

### THREE STATUE-BASES RECENTLY DISCOVERED AT ATHENS.

[This communication was given by its author, Mr. A. Philadelphus, Ephor of Antiquities of Attica, to the British School at Athens, for publication in the *Annual* of the School. In view of the importance of the subject, the Committee of the School has passed the paper for prompt publication to the Editors of the *Hellenic Journal*, since the *Annual* will not appear before the autumn of this year.]

[PLATES VI., VII.]

ON January 20th. and again on February 10th of this year. while digging was taking place on the property of M. Pouloupoulos between Erysiethon Street and Thessalonica Street, near the ancient Ceramicus. for the construction of a shop, sections of the Themistoclean circuit wall were brought to light. Built into them were found three quadrangular bases of Pentelic marble. two of which have sculptured reliefs on three of their four sides. while the third has on its principal face alone a painted design. and inscriptions. both of which. however. have been almost completely defaced with some sharp tool.

On the upper and lower surfaces of all three bases are large ellipsoid or rectangular depressions. in the centre of each of which is a socket with lead filling. the upper one being for fixing the statue. the lower for fixing another quadrangular block to complete the basis.

These bases are now in Room A of the National Museum.

I. No. 3476 (Plate VI.). (Measurements: each side 0·82 x 0·32 metre.) On the principal face are represented four naked epheboi. The two that form the centre of the composition are practising wrestling, or. more exactly, ἀκροχρηισμός, grasping each other's hands and each trying to throw his adversary. To the left, another athlete is standing on tiptoe with hands outstretched to the front. preparing to jump. while on the right a fourth is holding diagonally across his body the long akontion which he is getting ready to throw.

On the left face. six epheboi. upright but in varied poses. are playing one of the ball-games so dear to the ancient Greeks. The first from the left holds in his right hand a small ball. which he is about to throw with all his force up in the air to the right. All the rest hold their hands in different attitudes to catch it.

On the right face is a very clear and interesting representation of a scene from the palaestra. In the centre are two epheboi seated opposite one another. each wearing the himation arranged in the usual manner. so as to leave the breast and right arm bare. The one on the right is holding by a string in his right hand a cat. and the other in the same way a sheep-dog. The animals face one another. fiercely baring their teeth. The tragi-comic scene is followed with close interest and obvious delight. not only by the two who are holding the animals. but also by two other epheboi. one on each side. behind the seated

figures. Their left arms rest on long staves, as do those of the seated epheboi. Especially to be noticed is the attitude of the one on the right, who leans his right arm with an affectionate gesture on the shoulder of the young man in front of him. The two standing epheboi wear their cloaks in the same way as the two in the centre.

In style these sculptures belong to the advanced archaic style of the end of the sixth century B.C. The depth of the relief is remarkable, enhanced as it is by the colouring, which originally must have been very bright and lavishly applied, but is now preserved only on the background, and in a few traces on the hair of some of the youths.

The state of preservation of the reliefs is also quite extraordinary, for very few parts have been injured: a few scratches on the bodies of the epheboi do not detract from the wonderful impression created by the whole work, which must assuredly be reckoned among the finest of archaic sculptures. Their vigorous modelling, the gracefulness of the movement, the variety of the positions, the excellent anatomical knowledge of the human body, the natural and lively character of the reliefs arouse the admiration and charm the eyes of all lovers of art.

II. No. 3477 (Plate VII.). (Measurements: long sides 0·82, short 0·59 metre, each 0·275 high.) Three faces of this basis also are decorated with reliefs similarly representing scenes of sport.

On the principal face appears a game here met with for the first time in ancient art. For, though it is a ball-game, it is played with curved sticks, like hockey-sticks, which the players hold in their right hands.

As in the scene on the first basis, six naked epheboi are here taking part. The two in the centre are bending over a small ball, lying on the ground between them, of which each appears to be trying to get possession with his stick. They stand on either side of the ball quite symmetrically. To right and left stand two pairs of epheboi, also naked, eagerly watching the two players in the centre, waiting to come in, it seems, and holding their sticks ready for the purpose. Their attitudes are both varied and natural, and the whole scene gives the impression of an instantaneous photograph.

On the two remaining faces of this basis are two reliefs, the scenes on which are almost identical with one another, the only difference being that one is turned to the right, the other to the left. Thus a strict symmetry marks this basis throughout.

The scene represented is that of the *ἀγών ἀποβατικός*, which formed part of the chariot race in the hippodrome. In a four-horsed chariot stands the driver wearing a helmet and the usual dress of a charioteer, viz. the long chiton; close by, ready to jump up into the chariot, is a bearded warrior fully armed with helmet and shield, greaves and breastplate, and carrying a spear; behind, two young hoplites, also in full armour, form an escort, marching one behind the other. The leader of the two is beardless, and is a charming figure, the other has a pointed beard.

The sculptures on this basis differ much in execution from those of No. 3476. The relief is very slight, the modelling hardly perceptible, and the bodily

structure only faintly indicated. But the artist has a keen perception of beauty of line and fidelity to nature, and has succeeded in imparting to his work a rare grace and symmetry.

III. No. 3478. (Measurements: the long sides 0·715, the short 0·631 metre, each 0·415 high.) This basis resembles the others in shape, but only the principal face has a design, which is painted instead of being in relief, and is accompanied by inscriptions. Of these one is immediately to the left of the head of the figure and is vertical; the other, to the left of it, is horizontal, and consists of three lines.

As was noticed above, both design and inscriptions have been carefully defaced with a chisel or some other tool, so that it is very difficult to make out the one or decipher the others; but the composition seems to represent a woman seated on a throne and holding in her left hand a sceptre; her long chiton is adorned with a pattern of rosettes.

The vertical inscription alone can be read, as follows: ΕΝΔΟΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝΔ' ΕΠΟΙΕ. From this alone the great importance of this basis is evident: for on it must have stood a statue from the hand of this celebrated sculptor of the sixth century.

What inference is to be drawn from the careful and systematic defacement of design and inscriptions? Is it an echo of the Persian sack, or of some act of political revenge after the fall of the Peisistratids? It is a difficult problem, which perhaps only the decipherment of the remaining inscription can solve.

ALEX. PHILADELPHUS,  
*Ephor of Antiquities of Attica.*

\* Athens, April 1, 1922.

## NOTICES OF BOOKS

**The Palace of Minos.** A comparative account of the successive stages of the early Cretan civilization as illustrated by the discoveries at Knossos. By SIR ARTHUR EVANS. Vol. I. *The Neolithic and Early and Middle Minoan Ages.* Pp. 721, 542 figures in text, plans, tables, coloured and supplementary plates. London: Macmillan & Co., 1921. £6 6s.

The first volume of Sir Arthur Evans's final publication of his excavation at Knossos now lies before us. It is twenty years since the work on the hill of Kephala began, and the fresco of the Cupbearer was revealed to an astonished world, and thereafter the work of excavation went on year by year until the events of the last ten years of necessity terminated for a time the labours which the discoverer had set himself, and which he had carried out almost entirely at his own expense. In the first few years preliminary publication in the *Annual of the British School at Athens* went on *pari passu* with the work of excavation. Then, no doubt because it was obvious that it was only fair both to Sir Arthur and his publishers that too much should not be given out in preliminary form, and that the final publication should now be considered, we were contented with yearly notices in the *Times* and occasional references in other publications of Sir Arthur's, such as the first volume of *Scripta Minoa* and in *Archaeologia*. The war caused a cessation of work, during which Sir Arthur has been employed in the preparation of the first volume of the final publication, and, as this break synchronised with the almost complete excavation of the main palace, it provided a convenient opportunity for this work, which the discoverer always intended to produce. Now that the first volume has appeared, it is to be hoped that it will be no long time before the second and third come out, with the indices, of which the reader so greatly feels the lack in the first.

It is natural that, in a work which includes and sums up previous publications as well as providing us with much new and unpublished material, we should meet again with many old friends among the illustrations. Practically everything that has previously been illustrated reappears, as is right and necessary, and in addition we have many republications, for purposes of illustration, of the discoveries of other explorers. But this does not mean that we are not provided with a feast of new illustrations. The plates of polychrome ware and other illustrations of Middle Minoan pottery, the fresco of the saffron-gatherer or 'Blue Boy,' the columnar lamp of purple gypsum (Fig. 249), the fresco of 'The Ladies in Blue' (Fig. 397), the votive bronze figure from Psychro (Fig. 501), to name only the most outstanding of the previously unpublished objects, are of first-rate importance. Whereas, also, much of the letterpress has inevitably appeared already in a similar form, it now falls into place as part of a fully developed argument, enriched by the results of years of study; and there is, of course, very much that is wholly new. We can only note the generosity with which Sir Arthur Evans and Messrs. Macmillans have during the progress of the excavations published or facilitated the speedy publication of so many of the most important discoveries, with the result that the final edition of them must necessarily seem merely a republication. But their discoverer has had his reward for thus anticipating his *magnum opus* in the interest that his discoveries have everywhere evoked, in the help that he has received in their elucidation from the comments of students and in the impetus which he thus gave to other explorations in Crete, which have been of such value as affording comparisons with the work at Knossos, and would never have come about on so large a scale but for the continuous publication of the Knossian results, which showed the learned world what might be expected from archaeological exploration elsewhere in Crete. The method of full preliminary publication might seem to detract from the final publication: in reality

it has enhanced its value, since without it the great book could never have taken on the wonderfully comprehensive character which is its chief distinction.

The book is not merely a record of the Knossian discoveries. Sir Arthur does not only describe the excavation of Knossos, but also compares it with those of other sites, such as Phaistos, Gournia, Mochlos, Palaikastro, etc., and uses them to elucidate his own, while also throwing upon them illumination derived from Knossos, illustrating the discoveries of others as well as his own. Thus the book becomes a record of Cretan archaeology, grouped round Knossos as its central point, as is fitting. Its value is then greater even than had it been a publication of Knossos alone. It is not only that, but a guidebook to Early and Middle Minoan archaeology.

The method of publication is chronological. In the preliminary reports we had the record of the progress of the excavation, with publication of objects of all periods, as they were found. In the book everything is ordered chronologically, beginning with the neolithic period. This volume takes us to the end of the Middle Minoan period, roughly contemporaneous with the end of the Middle Kingdom in Egypt and the beginning of the XVIIIth Egyptian Dynasty, c. 1580 B.C. The second volume will cover the First and Second Late Minoan periods, the third will deal with the Third Late (the 'Mycenaean') period and contain the indices. This is an obvious and convenient division.

In the course of his argument the author takes us from one part of the work to another, passing from pottery to frescoes, to architecture, to seals, to inscribed tablets, to weapons, more than once from Crete to Egypt and back, with excursions to the Cyclades and the mainland, by easy transitions that rarely interrupt the flow of the narrative, gradually building up his *corpus* of our knowledge of Minoan and specifically Knossian art and civilisation. The principle of division cannot always be the same; we look at Knossian culture sometimes from one angle, sometimes from another. To combine the description of so many-faceted a culture with the explanation of the actual excavation of Knossos can have been no easy task, and it has been complicated, as is explained in the preface, by the constant discovery of new facts, that have often compelled the rearrangement of the matter and even the breaking-up and remarrying of the type during the long process of writing and printing, which began even before 1914. Naturally the book bears traces of this remodeling. But we may be well content with the result, and congratulate Sir Arthur Evans (and his helper, Dr. Duncan Mackenzie) heartily on the completion of the first volume of his great task. A great task indeed; but great discoveries impose great obligations, and a nemesis awaits the discoverer of such a place as Knossos in the vast labour of publishing his results. Yet we cannot doubt that to Sir Arthur it is a labour of love, and that he will go on to the completion of his work (as well as to that of *Scripta Minoa*) with undiminished energy.

To analyse the book in general would be a task beyond the scope of this review; even to appreciate the new points of view that the author puts before us would needs be to transcend the limits of the space allotted to it. With regard to Sir Arthur's dealings with Egypt in this volume a few words of comment may not be unacceptable. From the study of the shapes of the early Cretan stone pots he well brings out for the first time the undoubted fact that relations between Egypt and Crete go back into the predynastic period. We may perhaps demur, at any rate till the matter has been further elucidated, to his unquestioning acceptance of M. Weill's view of the date of the supposed prehistoric harbour-works discovered by M. Jondet at Alexandria. One may reasonably doubt, until confirmation of some kind is available, that these gigantic works were constructed by Minoan engineers on the Egyptian coast at least as early as the time of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom. One may even be permitted to wish that other engineers and archaeologists should certify us that M. Jondet has really discovered ancient harbour works at all. Another doubtful point is Sir Arthur's equally unquestioning acceptance of M. Weill's hypothetical reconstruction of the royal history of the Egyptian Intermediate Period and the time of the Hyksos, which is open to manifold objections. The reading now proposed by Mr. Griffith for the name of the Egyptian on the little diorite figure of the XIIIth Dynasty found at Knossos, and preferred on general grounds by Sir Arthur to the older reading proposed by Petrie, is undoubtedly correct: the name is compounded with that of

the goddess Uazet (Buto), not with that of the crocodile god Sehek. Sir Arthur Evans notes the similarity of the convention which both in Egypt in the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty, and in both contemporary Minoan days in Crete, and in somewhat later Mycenaean times in Cyprus, turned the natural spots on the hide of the cow or bull into quatrefoils or crosses. This similarity was first pointed out and the comparison made, so far as I am aware, by myself in my article on 'The Discoveries in Crete and their relation to the History of Egypt and Palestine' in the *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* 1903, p. 146, Pl. XVIII, though it is possible that Sir Arthur may have anticipated me in some publication that I have missed. For it is rarely that Sir Arthur omits a reference. The footnotes are a treasure-house of references and, as usual, admirably illustrate the wide range of the author's learning. And there are but few slips; the present writer is, however, on one occasion credited with the authorship of a book that was written by Sir William Ridgeway. Once or twice Sir Arthur finds it necessary in a note to administer a well-deserved rebuke to the somewhat discourteously expressed incredulity of M. Franchet. But it is rarely that the least note of disagreement with others, or even of criticism of their views, appears in the book. There is little need for him to disagree with anybody, for, after all, nobody but M. Franchet does disagree now with Sir Arthur Evans (except on matters of detail), for all the rest of us recognise his profound knowledge of his material, and his unrivalled power of illustration from all regions and periods of ancient archaeology, history, and mythology; we are inclined to think that he knows more about Knossos and Cretan archaeology than anybody else; we respect his authority, which is the more impressive from the mastery with which it is formulated. So we can admire the capacity with which the whole story of Knossos during its first two periods of culture-development is envisaged for us, and mark the ingenuity with which all the various threads of the narrative are interwoven to make a readable whole. For (if we may except some purely architectural detail which, naturally, will interest the architects) the book is eminently readable.

The appearance of the text-illustrations suffers to some extent from the miscellaneous styles of those that have appeared already, but all the newly published are of uniform character and are finely executed. The coloured plates are specially worthy of commendation. The complete and elaborate plans are the work of Messrs. Th. Fyffe and Christian Doll.

One does not wish to seem to praise overmuch, but neither can one find anything in the book to blame, except that sometimes Sir Arthur's enthusiasm runs away with him a little, as in the case of the Egyptian instances noticed above and perhaps in his idea that the Phaistos Disk contains a hymn 'to the Great Mother,' an idea which seems to be based on little but faith. M. Cuny's idea, quoted by Sir Arthur, that the disk is in reality an amulet from some Asia Minor shrine stamped with a religious text, the use of 'type' being accounted for by the need of printing a number of similar examples for sale to devotees, seems, however, highly probable. If so, Sir Arthur's idea may not be so far-fetched after all, and criticism, even in this case, may be misjudged. In any case, Sir Arthur may well say to me, in the words of the poet,

Τροείδῃ, μήτ' ἄρ' με μάλ' αἶψε μήτε τι νείκει  
εἰδόσι γὰρ τοι ταῦτα μετ' Ἀργείους ἀγορεύεις.

H. R. HALL.

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**The Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles.** Translated and Explained by J. T. SHEPARD, M.A., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Pp. lxxix + 179. Cambridge University Press, 1920.

This book falls into three parts: 1. Introduction. 2. Text with blank verse translation to face the text. 3. Notes.

The Introduction, in four chapters, is intended to support the thesis that Oedipus is regarded by Sophocles and is meant to be regarded by the audience as innocent—as a



hero not without faults, yet noble, involved, not because of his faults, but in spite of his virtue, in pollution.' This very sound and orthodox conclusion is supported by some arguments which do not strike us as quite so sound. For example, so anxious is Mr. Sheppard to contrast the attitude of Aeschylus with that of Sophocles that he tells us that 'Aeschylus treats the whole story as a tale of guilt and retribution. Laius sinned against Apollo, who forbade him to beget a son. In Sophocles we notice that it is left doubtful whether even Laius sinned against the god. Nothing that Sophocles says makes it impossible that Apollo simply foretold the future destiny of a child already begotten' (p. xix). Mr. Sheppard cannot have forgotten *O. T.* 711 ff.: *χρησμός γὰρ ἦλθε Λαίῳ ποτ' . . . ὡς αὐτὸν ἦξοι μοῖρα πρὸς παιδὸς θανεῖν, ὅστις γένοιτ' ἐμοῦ τε κἀκείνου πάρα*. We must suppose then that Mr. Sheppard has been misled by Blaydes' egregious note: 'ὅστις γένοιτ', 'who had been born,' not 'who should be born,' which would be *ὅστις γενήσονται*: which is, of course, nonsense. Again, chap. iii. on 'The Tyrant,' in reference to the choral ode 863 ff. and especially v. 889, *εἰ μὴ τὸ κέρδος κερδανεῖ δικαίως*, is vitiated by a far too narrow view of the meaning of *κέρδος* and *κερδαίνω*. The last, and perhaps the best, chapter on *Sophrosyne*, is similarly weakened by a forced interpretation of the word *καιρός*. No one doubts that *καιρός* sometimes means 'due measure' and has no explicit temporal reference. But the temporal reference is by far the commoner: Aristotle, *Eth. N.* 1096a, 26, defines 'the good' in the category of time as *καιρός*. In several of the passages where Mr. Sheppard renders *καιρός* by 'measure' his rendering is at least doubtful: e. g. 1516 *πάντα γὰρ καιρῷ καλά*, which Mr. Sheppard renders 'Measure in all things is best,' we should prefer to understand as 'there is a time for all things'; in others it is demonstrably wrong: e. g. Aesch. *Septem I.* *χρὴ λέγειν τὰ καίρια*, Mr. Sheppard renders 'must speak well-measured words.' But the phrase is in fact nothing but a verse rendering of the ordinary *λέγειν τὰ βέλτιστα* (Demosth. 3. 11. and *passim*; Aristoph. *Ecc.* 152.) and means to speak 'to the purpose,' 'opportunistically,' in the widest sense. If *τὰ καίρια* here means 'well-measured,' what are we to make of Aesch. *P. T.* 1036, *ἡμῖν μὲν Ἑρμῆς οὐκ ἄκαιρα φαίνεται λέγειν*? What of Sophocles, *Ant.* 724, *εἴ τι καίριον λέγει*, where Mr. Sheppard's version would be impossible? Or of *Philoct.* 862, *βλέπ' εἰ καίρια φθέγγει*? But, above all, what of *O. C.* 808 f., *Κρ. χωρὶς τὸ τ' εἰπεῖν πολλὰ καὶ τὰ καίρια. Οἱ. ὡς δὴ σὺ βραχεία ταῖτα δ' ἐν καιρῷ λέγεις*? If Mr. Sheppard's rendering were right, then verse 808 would be a flat truism. Moreover, v. 809 defines precisely the meaning of *τὰ καίρια* as 'brief and to the point.' How easily the meanings 'untimely' and 'excessive' pass into each other is illustrated by the combination in Latin of 'intempestivus' and 'immodicus,' and doubtless Mr. Sheppard might hold that 'brief and to the point' is exactly 'well-measured.' But what of *δρᾶν τὰ καίρια*, *Aj.* 120; *φρονοῦντι καίρια*, *El.* 227? and what of *καιρίαν δ' ἑμὶν ὄρω . . . στείχουσιν Ἰοκάστην*, *O. T.* 631? So in Prose, where *καίριος* is rather a rare word, Mr. Sheppard's version is quite unsuitable: e. g. Herod. I. 125, *φροντίζων δὲ εὐρισκέ τε ταῖτα καιριώτατα εἶναι*; Thuc. 4. 10, *ἀπὸ νεῶν αἷς πολλὰ τὰ καίρια δεῖ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ ξυμβῆναι*. When Mr. Sheppard renders *O. T.* 324 f., *ὄρω γὰρ οἷδε σοὶ τὸ σὸν φώνημ' ἰὸν πρὸς καιρὸν* by 'I see thy own word quit the path of safety' he ignores the attested sense of *πρὸς καιρὸν* = 'to the purpose,' as, e. g. *πρὸς καιρὸν πονῶ*, *Aj.* 38, slightly varied in *Phil.* 525; *πρὸς τὸ καίριον πονεῖν*, *πρὸς καιρὸν λέγων*, *Phil.* 1279; *πρὸς καιρὸν ἐννέπειν*, *Trach.* 59. But the climax is reached in Mr. Sheppard's version of *O. T.* 1512 ff. Reading *νῦν δὲ τοῦτ' εὐχασθέ μοι, οὗ καιρὸς αἰεὶ ζῆν, βίον δὲ λυφονος ἡμᾶς κυρῆσαι τοῦ φυτεύσαιτος πατρὸς* he renders 'be your prayer to live where fortune's modest measure is,' etc. On p. lx, he prints 'to live where the Due Measure is,' and while in the present passage and in v. 325 *καιρός* has a small initial letter, in the footnote on p. lxxiv we have *Καιρὸν* in all the seductive dignity of a capital. It may be disputed whether we should read *εὐχασθέ μοι* or *εὐχασθ' ἑμοί*; whether the subject to *ζῆν* is Oedipus or his children; whether we should read *αἰεὶ ζῆν, βίον δὲ* or *ἐὰν* (we should ourselves prefer *ἦ*) *ζῆν, τοῦ βίον δὲ*; but there surely cannot in any case be the remotest doubt as to the meaning of *οὗ καιρὸς ζῆν*, 'to live where occasion serves.' Mr. Sheppard himself tells us (p. 102) that 'Sophocles does . . . not perform meaningless verbal gymnastics.' When, then, Sophocles uses a phrase so common and so definite in meaning, we must refuse to give

it here a meaning which is perfectly unexampled. The reference of *καιρός* being usually temporal, the phrase is usually introduced by a temporal conjunction. Thus, to confine ourselves to Thucydides, we have *ὅποτε καιρός εἶη*, 4. 77; *ὅταν καιρός ᾖ*, 4. 126; 6. 93; *ἐπειδὴ καιρός ᾖν*, 7. 5; 7. 51; *ἐπειδὴ καιρός ἐδόκει εἶναι*, 7. 34; *ἐπειδὴ ἔδοξε καιρός εἶναι*, 7. 5; but neglecting such more ambiguous uses as *ἐν ᾧ ἂν καιρός ᾖ*, 4. 17; *ᾗν καιρός ᾖ*, 4. 92; *ᾗν πον καιρός ᾖ*, 8. 27; *ὡς ἂν καιρός ᾖ*, 8. 1, we have a definitely local use in Thuc. 4. 54, *ἐναυλιζόμενοι τῶν χωρίων οὗ καιρός εἶη ἐδῆουν τὴν γῆν*, and 4. 90, *πύργους τε ξυλίους κατέστησαν ᾗ καιρός ᾖν*. In view of these facts, that Sophocles should have used the words in Mr. Sheppard's sense is simply incredible. On any interpretation the main emphasis lies on the second clause, and the meaning is, 'wherever you live, may your life be happier than your father's.' If we should render 'wherever I live,' then Oedipus will be repeating the same indifference to his own fate with which he began his reference to his children: *ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν ἡμῶν μοῖρ' ὅποιπερ εἶσ', ἴτω* (v. 1458). One of the passages quoted by Mr. Sheppard to support his interpretation is Bacchylides *fr.* 21, *πανροῖσι δὲ θνητῶν τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον δαίμων ἔδωκεν | πρῶσσοντας ἐν καιρῷ πολιοκράταφον | γῆρας ἱκνέσθαι πρὶν ἐγκύρσαι δαΐ,* which Jebb renders: 'To few mortals is Fate wont to grant that they should have happy fortunes through all their years, or come to the first grey hairs of age without encountering woe.' Mr. Sheppard, with his customary engaging confidence, rejects this rendering and tells us that Bacchylides means 'few have the happy life of moderate prosperity.' Would Mr. Sheppard have cited this passage, we wonder, if he had remembered Thuc. 4. 59, *αἰτὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰ μὴ <ἐν> καιρῷ τύχοιεν ἐκότεροι πρῶσσοντες*?

The Translation is a sound piece of work, and may fairly be said to succeed in its purpose, which is 'to give the reader a faithful version' (p. x). In one passage, indeed, Mr. Sheppard hardly does himself justice. When Iocasta, 1071 f., says *ιοῦ, ιοῦ, δύστηνε τοῦτο γάρ σ' ἔχω | μόνον προσεπεῖν, ἄλλο δ' οὔποθ' ἕσπερον*, we cannot think her words are adequately rendered by 'O Wretched, Wretched utterly! That name | I give you, and henceforth no other name.' 'Wretched' is a poor rendering for a word of such quality as *δύστηνος*. Moreover, the whole point lies in *ιοῦ, ιοῦ, δύστηνε*; the rest, beautiful as it is, is but a concession to convention. For Iocasta's grief silence alone is adequate, and the point is that, save for the ejaculation, she is silent. Hence *σιωπῆς* in v. 1705. So Aietes, *ἰνξεν δ' ἀφωνήτῳ περ ἔμπας ἄχει* (Pind. *P.* iv. 237).

The Notes are rather desultory in character and of uneven quality. They are intended mainly to expound the dramatic value of particular words, phrases, and episodes, and here they show evidence both of acuteness and of careful study. Mr. Sheppard shares, indeed, to the full the capacity of so many modern scholars for 'hearing the grass grow.' When, for instance, we are told that *πάντα ρωμῶν*, v. 300, 'with *πάντα* for the *ὄρνιθαν* of Aesch. *Sept.* 26 prepares our minds, subtly and without our conscious perception of it, for the suggestion of *κέρδος* as the motive of the seer, because we half remember the Homeric *κέρδεα ρωμῶν*,' we can only say with Dominic Sampson, 'Pro—di—gi—ous!'

A subsidiary purpose of the Notes is to defend the reading adopted when it differs from the text of Jebb or to explain the rendering given in the Translation. The most notable reading is perhaps *πετραῖος ὁ ταῖρος*, which we are glad to see restored in v. 478. It is to be hoped that *ισόταυρος* may now join that other 'palmary emendation,' Conington's *λεόντος ἴων* (Aesch. *Ag.* 718), in a kindly oblivion. In our space we cannot do more than notice some passages which we think Mr. Sheppard might usefully reconsider. In v. 11, reading *στέργαιτες* Mr. Sheppard renders: 'in what mood stand ye here—Of panic—or good courage?' and he thinks the objection that 'those who are resigned have no ground for supplication' is sufficiently answered by Isocrates, *Demon.* 86, *στέργει μὲν τὰ παρόντα, ζητεῖ δὲ τὰ βέλτιστα*. But since *στέργαιτες* must indicate not the *mood* merely of the suppliant but the *motive* of his supplication, the quotation is pointless, unless it means that contentment with the present state is a motive for seeking a better. 44 f., *ὡς τοῖσιν ἐμπείροισι κ.τ.λ.*, is explained to mean: 'It is in the case of men of experience, above all others, that I find both counsel and event live,' i. e. 'what happens in regard to what they plan, as well as (καὶ) what they plan.' This seems to approximate to the scholiast's interpretation of *συμφορὰς* as *ἀποβάσεις*, but we frankly do not follow Mr. Sheppard's reasoning. V. 54: *εἴπερ ἄρξεις τῆσδε γῆς ὥσπερ κρατεῖς*. Mr. Sheppard thinks that 'the

editors miss the point here ' inasmuch as they make no distinction between ἄρχω and κρατῶ. It would be easy to show that the words are used by the poets indifferently, and if the distinction imagined by Mr. Sheppard were intended, κρατεῖν in the next line should have been ἄρχειν. V. 65: ἔπνω γ' εὐδοντά μ'. Mr. Sheppard curiously thinks that γ' is out of place and reads ἔπνω μ' εὐδοντά γ'. But in a composite phrase like ἔπνω εὐδεν Greek regularly attaches the γε to the first word of the phrase, e. g. ἔκ γε τῆς πόλεως, never unless under stress of metre ἐκ τῆς πόλεως γε. V. 88: ἐξιόντα is adopted from Suidas for the MSS. ἐξελθόντα, although in any reasonable sense it is quite impossible. V. 95: The note on λέγοιμ' ἄν quite ignores the fact that λέγοιμ' ἄν is a regular formula for commencing a speech: e. g. Eurip. *Iph. T.* 939, *Her.* 1132, *El.* 1060, *Suppl.* 465, and contains no implication of 'I will if I must,' which would naturally be the explicit λέγοιμ' ἄν εἰ χροῖ (Eur. *El.* 300) or the like. V. 133: There seems to be no ground either in etymology or in Greek usage for supposing that ἐπαξίως is stronger than ἀξίως. V. 156: τί μοι ἢ νέον ἢ . . . πάλιν ἐξανάσεις χρέος. Surely the phrase ἐξανάσεις χρέος has no reference to exaction of a debt, but merely means 'what thing new or recurrent wilt thou accomplish.' Cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 85, τί χρέος: τί νέον κ.τ.λ. V. 227 ff.: κεί μὲν φοβεῖται τοῦπέκκλημ' ἐπεξελεῖν | αὐτὸς καθ' αὐτοῖ—πέσεται γὰρ κ.τ.λ. is Mr. Sheppard's reading, and his note, in which he follows Blaydes, is, 'Construe literally: "And if he fears to produce the charge himself bringing it against himself—why?" (there is a simple ellipse) "he shall suffer no worse penalty than banishment."' Although we certainly do not accept any interpretation hitherto proposed, because one and all seem to misunderstand ἐπεξελεῖν, we cannot agree with Mr. Sheppard. In the first place we know no parallel to the supposed sense of ἐπεξελεῖν, and neither Blaydes nor Mr. Sheppard supplies one. Even if we present Mr. Sheppard with Pindar's ὅτι κε σὺν Χαρίτων τύχη γλώσσα φρενὸς ἐξέλοι βαθείας, his case is no better. But a more serious objection remains. The ellipse which Mr. Sheppard thinks 'simple' is so far from being so that not merely is it to us *a priori* incredible, but we know no ellipse in Greek (no one, we hope, would compare Hom. *Il.* 1. 581 f.!) which even remotely resembles it. V. 464: Mr. Sheppard reads εἶδε, which is surely inferior, especially in view of οἱ Διὸς ἄδνεπές φάτι in v. 151. Lastly, it is strange that on the strength of a gloss in Hesychius, ἡγόμεν' διήγοι· Σοφοκλῆς Θυέστη δευτέρῳ, Mr. Sheppard should give ἡγόμεν' the unattested sense of 'I passed my days' when the ordinary rendering 'I was reckoned' is well supported; e. g. Thuc. 8. 81. ἦα . . . οἱ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ τιμιώτερον αὐτὸν ἄγοιεν; Xen. *Ag.* 11. 6. τὰς δὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων (ἀμαρτίας) μεγάλας ἦγε.

The only minor *errata* we remember to have noted are p. lxxiv, footnote 2. Euripid. *Ph.* 871 for 471, and p. 642 δρώντα for δρώντα.

A. W. M.

Éschyle. Texte établi et traduit par PAUL MAZON. Tome I. Pp. xxxv + 199. Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres." Paris, 1920. Fr. 15.

This is a volume in the recently inaugurated series of Greek and Latin authors, after the manner of our own Loeb Series, containing text with French prose translation to face the text, short introductions, and brief explanatory and critical notes. The series, which is the creation of a group of French men of letters, members of the Institut and of the Collège de France, who have founded at Paris the Association Guillaume Budé for the defence and propagation of Classical culture, will be welcomed by British scholars with sympathetic interest.

This first instalment of Aeschylus contains a short general Introduction to Aeschylus, the *Bíos Aischylou* from the Medicean MS., and the *Supplices*, *Persae*, *Septem*, and *Prometheus*, each of which is introduced by a short 'notice.'

The Introduction begins with a sketch of the life and work of Aeschylus, followed by a few words on the moral ideas of his poetry. M. Mazon, who finds the central idea to be the idea of Justice, rather puzzles us by his remark on Ch. 308, τὸ δίκαιον μεταβαίνει, 'le Droit se déplace,' 'c'est là l'idée nouvelle et originale d'Eschyle' (p. vii). The second

part of the Introduction gives an admirably lucid account of the history of the Text, the MSS., and the principles on which the Editor proceeds in constituting his text. His view of the problem is summed up in the concluding words of the Introduction. 'Notre texte a subi des altérations par le fait des poètes et des acteurs qui ont remanié les pièces d'Eschyle aux v<sup>e</sup> et iv<sup>e</sup> siècles, par le fait des grammairiens qui ont multiplié les éditions scolaires de la vulgate alexandrine, par le fait des Byzantins qui ont, à leur tour, réédité pendant cinq siècles le seul exemplaire qui leur fût parvenu d'une de ces éditions; et cet exemplaire lui-même ne contenait qu'un texte de qualité médiocre, où les fautes ne manquaient pas. Et, malgré tout cela, nous ne lisons pas un Eschyle corrompu et déformé sans remède: nous possédons bien, dans son ensemble, le texte même du poète. Notre devoir est de n'y toucher qu'avec prudence et respect.' The brief 'notices' prefixed to the individual plays are admirable.

M. Mazon's text is in general prudent and orthodox. *Suppl.* 444: *μετερπλήσσαι* (for *μέγ' ἐμπλήσας*), which is given as the conjecture of the Editor (after Droysen's *μετερπλήσας*), was anticipated by Tucker. *Suppl.* 604: *δῆμον κρατοῦσα χεὶρ πόσῳ πληθύνεται* is read by M. Mazon from his own conjecture: 'à quelle majorité aussi a prévalu le vote populaire,' *Suppl.* 835: he adopts Headlam's *γαῖάναξ*. *Pers.* 451: he adopts Stahl's *ἐξοισοῖατο* (from Herod. viii. 76. *ἐξοισομένων*). But the conjecture is surely needless, and the syntax, *ὅταν—ἐξοισοῖατο*, unparalleled in good Greek. *Pers.* 815: *ἀλλ' ἔτ' ἐκπαδένεται* is retained and rendered, 'et va grandir encore.' *Sept.* 13: *ὅραν ἔχονθ' ἕκαστον ὥς τι συμπεπές* is read, 'chacun enfin se donnant au rôle qui convient à ses forces,' *Sept.* 45: M. Mazon reads, *Ἄρην τ', Ἐννῶ, καὶ φιλαίματον Φόβον*. We do not remember any parallel to the construction here implied A τε, B, καὶ Γ. It seems that we should read either *Ἄρην, Ἐννῶ, καί*, or possibly *Ἄρην τ' Ἐννῶ, ἰ. ε. Ἄρην τ' Ἐννάλιον*. The corresponding masculine to *Ἐννῶ* would be *Ἐννῶν*, and there is no reason why it should not have an accusative in —ω, as *Ἀπόλλω, Ποσειδῶ*, etc. *Prom.* 2: *ἄβροτον* is preferred to *ἄβατον*, and (v. 17) *εἰωριάζειν* to *ἐξωριάζειν*. In 463 *σώμασιν* is rightly retained: 'des bêtes soumises soit au harnais, soit à un cavalier.'

The Translation is a highly meritorious piece of work. It differs, of course, in some respects from what for some years has been regarded among us as the ideal to be aimed at in translating a Greek poet. In the first place, the French translator does not aim at giving his diction a specifically poetical colour, and the use of antiquated words, as *e. g.* *nef* = *navire* (*Suppl.* 135, etc.) is rare. Again, while the English translator usually endeavours to find a corresponding word to translate a Greek word, the French translator is often compelled by the lack of compound words to employ a periphrasis. Hence there cannot in French be the same economy of words as in Greek and English, and the French rendering is apt to give an impression of diffuseness. Thus, *e. g.* *Suppl.* 186–190. M. Mazon requires 54 words to render 29. Again, *Prom.* 467–8. *θαλασσόπλαγκτα δ' οὔτις ἄλλος ἀντ' ἐμοῦ / λυόπτερ' εἶρε ναυτίλων ὀχήματα*, is rendered: 'Nul autre que moi non plus n'inventa ces véhicules aux ailes de toile, qui permettent au marin de courir les mers,'—22 words to render 10. *Pers.* 81–86. *κνάειον δ' ὄρμασι λεύσσω / φοινὸν δέργμα δράκοντος, / πολέχειρ καὶ πολυνάυτας. Σέρων θ' ὄρμα διώκων, / ἐπάγει δονρικλέτοις ἄν- / ὄρσι τοξόδαρμον* *Ἄρην*: 'En ses yeux luit le regard bleu sombre du dragon sanglant. Il meut mille bras et mille vaisseaux et, pressant son attelage assyrien, il conduit à l'attaque des héros qu'illustra la lance l'Aves à l'arc triomphant';—40 words to render 19. Occasionally, no doubt, the French is even more terse than the Greek, *e. g.* *λέξω δέ σοι* (*Pers.* 180) becomes 'écoute.' But, in any case, it may fairly be claimed that the periphrastic language of the French translator conduces to lucidity, and renders his version almost equivalent to a commentary. Nor is he wanting in spirit and vigour. As a fair illustration we take this well-known passage from the Messenger's account of the battle of Salamis (*Persae*, 386 sqq.): 'Mais, quand le jour aux blancs coursiers épand sa clarté sur la terre, voici que, sonore, une clameur s'élève du côté des Grecs, modulée comme un hymne, cependant que l'écho des rochers de l'île en répète l'éclat. Et la terreur alors saisit tous les barbares, déçus dans leur attente: car ce n'était pas pour fuir que les Grecs entonnaient ce péan solennel, mais bien pour marcher au combat, pleins de valeureuse assurance; et les appels de la trompette embrasaient toute leur ligne. Aussitôt les rames bruyantes, tombant

avec ensemble, frappent l'eau profonde en cadence, et tous bientôt apparaissent en pleine vue. L'aile droite, alignée, mène la première, en bon ordre. Puis la flotte entière se dégage et s'avance, et l'on pouvait alors entendre, tout proche, un immense appel : "Allez, enfants des Grecs, délivrez la patrie, délivrez vos enfants et vos femmes, les sanctuaires des dieux de vos pères et les tombeaux de vos aïeux : c'est la lutte suprême !"

An unusual feature is the printing with the choral parts of 'indications musicales' : we are unable to estimate the value to the reader of such indications as 'un peu plus animé,' 'un peu élargi,' 'ferme et bien marqué,' etc., but, at the worst, they can do no harm.

The footnotes, explanatory and critical, are admirably lucid, and slips, such as that on p. 65, where Perseus is described as son of *Danaos*, are rare. We note the absence of a Bibliography such as the volumes of the Loeb Series give; but to have been of any real service it would have had to be of unconscionable length. The printing of the volume is excellent, and our one regret is that it is issued in paper covers instead of in publisher's binding. In these days, when individual binding is so expensive, this will necessarily considerably increase the cost to the purchaser, since, even with the most careful handling, the book, if unbound, will speedily fall to pieces.

A. W. M.

**The Unity of Homer.** By JOHN A. SCOTT, Professor of Greek in North-Western University; Sather Professor of Classical Literature in the University of California, 1921. (Sather Classical Lectures, Volume I.) Pp. 269. Berkeley, Cal.: Univ. of California Press. 1921.

The contents of this book are well summed up by the author himself, p. 269 : 'Everything fits into the theory of a single Homer; the civilisation, the language, the gods, the outlines, the marks of genius; and all these are supported by the unanimous verdict of the best poets and the greatest critics of twenty-five hundred years.' That Prof. Scott has contrived to cover so much ground in a short and eminently readable book is no mean testimony to his literary skill. The work is a summary, partly of arguments its author was himself the first to bring forward; and while the professed student of Homer may read it with profit, any intelligent person in possession of a good prose translation of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* can use it by skipping half-a-dozen pages in the chapter dealing with language. It fills a gap, for we know of no other work in English so convenient and so complete.

The reviewer disagrees with Prof. Scott on some minor points, finds the chapter on 'Antiquities and kindred matters' (ch. iv.) rather inadequate, and wishes he (and certain other writers) would not use the phrase 'higher critic' to mean 'separatist.' Against these few defects may be set very many excellences, for example the exposure, p. 242 ff., of the unsoundness of the analogy between the Wolfian handling of Homer and the application of superficially similar methods to Hebrew and other Oriental documents. We wish this book a wide circulation.

**Herakles.** Aufsätze zur griechischen Religions- und Sagen-geschichte. By BERNHARD SCHWEITZER. Pp. vii + 247. 38 illustrations. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1922.

Two essays, the first dealing with the Aktorione, in whom Schweitzer sees a twy-bodied pre-Dorian god. The evidence is largely archæological. The author has made a special study of vases of the geometrical period, but does not arouse great confidence in his critical skill when he uses (p. 166) a gross and notorious forgery (details in *Rév. archéologique*, Tom. XIV, 1921, p. 154) as a genuine piece. The second essay deals rather with saga and *Märchen*, which Schweitzer deliberately confuses, and attempts to restore the primitive form of the Twelve Labours.

We notice much that is old-fashioned in the author's philology and anthropology, much rhetoric, and not enough close reasoning. Some of the material may be incidentally of interest.

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**Die Rechtsidee im frühen Griechentum.** Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der werdenden Polis. By VICTOR EHRENBURG. Pp. xii + 150. One plate. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1921.

This little work, while confessedly owing much to various predecessors, notably R. Hirzel's *Themis, Dike und Verwandtes*, is not without pretensions to originality. The author sketches the development of the terms *θέμις*, *δίκη*, *θεσμός*, and *νόμος*, the first with its cognates receiving the most elaborate handling, though part of the space might have been spared, as it includes a long demonstration of the well-known connection of Themis with Ge. He insists on the original sacral connotation of *θέμις*, and has some ingenious suggestions as to the origin of the goddess herself and her relation to the omphalos (p. 48). *Δίκη* he would connect, not with *δείκνυμι*, but with *δικεῖν*, supposing it to have been originally a casting of lots. Whether his suggestion be right or not, he is probably correct in thinking that the development of Dike the goddess is relatively late, while in the case of Themis the goddess is earlier than the abstract idea. He is at times over-subtle and hampered in more than one place by the antiquated separatist theories concerning Homer.

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**The Homeric Catalogue of Ships.** Edited with a Commentary by THOMAS W. ALLEN. Pp. 190, 2 maps. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1921. 16s.

'The Catalogue occupied historians of all ages,' but with this difference, that whereas the ancients regarded it as canonical and a safe starting-point for their own ethnological researches, the moderns for the most part have condemned it as the work of a later writer, a Boeotian patriot intent on glorifying his native country, or a pamphleteer with political theories of his own. Mr. Allen, reverting to earlier methods, has given us a valuable study, of which all subsequent speculations as to the political and geographical distribution of peoples in early Greece must take account. Whether or no we accept Mr. Allen's view (p. 169) that the catalogue stood originally at the beginning of the saga, he has shown that the conditions described are such as never existed in the Greece known to later ages, and from that result produces the following dilemma: either the description is invented, or it represents the actual facts at the time of composition. If the latter, it should be consistent with the remainder of the poems, with the mass of ancient legend and with the archaeological evidence as known to us at the present time. Consistency with the two first could in some degree be attained by a later imitator, consistency with the third was attainable only by a writer contemporary, or almost contemporary, with the events which he describes.

To take an example: In spite of Mr. Allen's rehabilitation of Aulis and his geographical explanation of the position which Boeotia holds in the catalogue, without believing that the compiler was himself a Boeotian it is difficult to account for the extent of his local knowledge, which is greater for Boeotia than for any other part of Greece. Nevertheless the local writer does nothing to distort the picture; by his very treatment of Boeotia he gives us security for the accuracy of his description as a whole. It might, of course, have been possible for a later writer to have himself evolved the state of affairs as described in the catalogue, a Boeotia divided into a number of small states, as local politicians at a later date desired, with Thebes in ruins, as a close attention to legendary chronology demanded; such, too, is the description postulated by the rest of the poem. But we may seriously doubt whether a local poet writing at a later date would have deduced such a state of affairs or have been ready to express it, and it is even more inconceivable that a later poet could have deduced his description of the Peloponnese either from legend or from later political aspirations. Still less could he have done so with Thessaly. In

both these cases our present archaeological knowledge goes far to confirm the compiler's description, and in each section of the catalogue as treated by Mr. Allen we are left with the impression that the compiler was describing facts which he and his audience knew to be the case.

With regard to the Trojan portion of the catalogue Mr. Allen puts forward a new theory, suggested by Mr. Arkwright, that the four lines of Trojan allies radiating from Troy correspond with the four winds. The description is perhaps more convincing than that of trade-routes, but difficulties arise in the case of the 'Northern' line if we are to adopt the view of Eratosthenes that Homer knew nothing of the coastal towns of Paphlagonia. If Alybe was an inland district of Cappadocia and was approached overland, it is almost inconceivable that the compiler should have considered it 'in the direction of Boreas.'

If a small detail may be mentioned, is it necessary to suppose that the Pylos of I. 295 is the historic Pylos of the Thucydidean narrative? The towns which Agamemnon offered to his prospective son-in-law lay on the borders of Pylos—that is to say, on the southern frontier of Nestor's kingdom—just as the debatable town of Thryon (νεάτη Πύλου ἡμαθόεντος) lay on his northern frontier. We cannot tell what were the local conditions which allowed Agamemnon to dispose of this district as he proposed. The normal frontier of Nestor's kingdom reached as far as Modon and Coron—for some reason unknown to us the king of men could exercise a certain jurisdiction here.

Cases such as this, where our knowledge is inadequate, do not make it necessary to condemn all passages where we are unable to confirm the compiler's description. On the contrary, historical criticism will take the opposite view, that in the case of a document, which in cases where it can be tested is proved to be correct, its other statements may be accepted as the basis for further investigations into the early age of Greece. In this lies the great value of Mr. Allen's book.

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**The Origin of Tyranny.** By P. N. URE. Pp. xi + 374, 46 illustrations. Cambridge: University Press, 1922. 35s.

This volume elaborates a thesis which Prof. Ure first put forward in this Journal in 1906, that the Greek tyrants of the seventh and sixth centuries were essentially men of business who owed their political success to their ability as money-makers. It examines not only the case of the principal despots of early Greece, but also that of the contemporary rulers of Lydia, Egypt and Rome; and it reviews the available evidence, and especially the pottery record of the seventh and sixth centuries, with the minutest care. The materials thus amassed have been utilised by Prof. Ure for all they are worth, and sometimes maybe for a little more. Many of his arguments are temptingly ingenious and are put forward with excellent wit and force, yet depend on too many uncertain factors to contain more than a bare possibility of truth. It must suffice here to mention one strange piece of reasoning, that the tyrants 'got a bad press' among the later Greeks because of their commercial origin (p. 303). On Prof. Ure's own showing their economic activities were usually far more beneficial than those of the gradgrinding 'Junkers' whom they superseded. The traditional view that the Greek tyrants, like the Italian 'signori' and our own king John, damned their own memory by the cruelties and outrages which they committed, is surely good enough. But in spite of a weak argument here and there, the cumulative force of Prof. Ure's plea cannot be denied, and this much at least of his case seems well established, that the tyrants as a class were men who had considerable riches at their command.

But how was this economic capital converted into political power? On this vital point Prof. Ure unfortunately leaves too much to the imagination of his readers, and the only two clear statements which he makes are open to dispute. In the first place, in emphasising the fact that the rise of tyranny coincided with the invention of coinage, he asserts that coinage was 'perhaps the most epoch-making revolution in the whole history of commerce.' But expansions of currency are the effects rather than the cause of commercial

booms, whose *πρώτον κινούν* should rather be sought in improved technical processes and the opening up of new markets; and coinage hardly ranks in importance with two other products of ancient inventiveness, a metallic currency and credit-money. Again, Prof. Ure draws too sharp a distinction between the earlier Greek despots and those of the fourth century, whose demagogic wiles and military *coups* Plato and Aristotle (to say nothing of Herodotus) regarded as typical of tyrant-craft. Just as there are clear cases of latter-day Greek despots owing their power, like the Medici, to judicious usury, so we have undoubted instances of early tyrants posing as friends of the people and acquiring or maintaining their dominion by sheer force. Is it not simplest to assume that investment in mercenaries was the commonest method by which usurpers disposed of their wealth, like most of the Italian 'signori' and untold numbers of Oriental despots? But assuming that some of the earlier Greek tyrants also put their riches to a more subtle and less brutal use, as we may fairly assume with Prof. Ure that they did, was it by way of money-lending, or of finding employment for large masses of labour, or by some other method, that they acquired political power? On these points Prof. Ure throws out hints, but he does not follow out his arguments. Lastly, the parallel which he draws between ancient tyrants and modern 'oil kings' is merely confusing, for the social and political effects of present-day 'big business' are not as clear as the *ex parte* writers quoted by Prof. Ure would make out.

It appears, then, that Prof. Ure has not fully worked out his case. But he has undoubtedly thrown a flood of fresh light on his subject, and indeed on early Greek history in general. Whatever measure of assent his present book may command, it will certainly rank as a first-rate contribution to Greek historical studies.

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**Geschichte des Hellenismus.** By J. KAERST. Second Edition. Vol. I. Pp. xii + 536. Leipzig and Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1917. M. 16.

The second edition of this volume, first published in 1901 under the title *Geschichte des hellenistischen Zeitalters*, shows an increase of 103 pages. It is divided into three books. The first, dealing with the Greek city state, is 53 pages longer and has been largely rewritten. The second, Macedonia and Philip II., is little altered. The third, Alexander, shows an increase of 26 pages, chiefly in the first chapter, the Orient before Alexander; the actual story is little modified, though more space is given to the Asiatic Greeks, but the chapter on Alexander's world-rule is completely recast. The appendices have nearly doubled in length. The volume is really a history of Graeco-Macedonian political theory, and the parts rewritten are those dealing with the main theme. The connexion of the books seems to be this: (1) why the pols failed to achieve national unity; (2) how the national Macedonian monarchy came near to achieving unity; (3) how Alexander's world-kingdom transcended both the national monarchy and the polis, and achieved, or was in the way to achieve, a greater synthesis.

The work is one of the most important histories dealing with Hellenism which have appeared: it is well written, very interesting, and has the quality of making the reader think; it has cost much labour, for Kaerst began to write on the subject in 1878; and, since I hold its main conclusion to be unfounded, I wish to emphasise both the pleasure and the profit I have derived from reading it. There are few sections which do not contain some acute observation or arresting idea. It is written subject to certain limitations, explained in the preface to the first edition: Kaerst is not interested in the details of actual historical events, especially on the military side (hence he gives no maps), or concerned overmuch to cite the modern literature on the subject. This does not mean that he regularly neglects detail. He is often very good; I may instance the mercenary world (where his belief that the mercenaries affected the Alexander-tradition seems confirmed by *Oxyr. Pap.* 15, 1798); Callisthenes, where a little paragraph on p. 448 opens up a large vista; and the League of Corinth, where he usefully corrects Wilhelm. But it means that you never quite know when he *will* neglect detail; and the neglected detail has a way of making a hole in your theories. Also he seems to know little of recent work outside Germany, a severe handicap when he comes to India.



Book I. deals with the State versus the individual, as exhibited in the polis. The spiritual basis of the polis (ch. i.) is law—not particular laws, but a general moral order which unifies the community. But as in the polis the community and the State are one, the polis has no power of expansion. Freedom, to the citizen, meant (he thinks) only a share in the government; you therefore naturally sought the power of your own class; hence the unending class-wars. No city, certainly not fifth-century Athens, cared for *Hellas* or sought more than its own interest. Things were made worse by the sophists (ch. ii.), who championed individualism; they began with something like Rousseau's Social Contract, and arrived at something like Bentham's greatest happiness of the greatest number (all orthodox Germans despise Benthamism); they made of the State merely a collection of individuals, seeking each his own advantage. The ideal philosophies (ch. iii.) tried to remedy this by insisting on the State as an organic thing, of which individuals were only members; but unfortunately they exercised no practical influence. Ch. iv. deals with the internal break-down of the polis after the 'King's Peace' had ended any chance of national unity; ch. v. is Panhellenism, or the reaction against the King's Peace, with more stress on the political importance of Isocrates than in the first edition. Much in this book is true; but it is written from the view-point of a believer in the orthodox German theory of the State, to whom 'freedom' merely hinders unification; and there is a whole side left out—the case for political democracy and political liberty.

Book II. is mainly Philip. On the Macedonian kingdom, Kaerst thinks it grew out of the (originally absolute) king, and that the rights of the Macedonian people under arms were only acquired much later, when Philip remodelled the army. But *how* acquired? If wrested from Philip, why did they never seek to enlarge them later? As I see it, the Macedonians after Philip did not seek to enlarge their rights, but did regard them as fundamental, old, an essential part of Macedonia. It makes a difference, in Alexander's story, whether the Macedonian monarchy was quasi-limited from the start.—Kaerst does not profess to give the affairs of Athens; but he does not share the modern cult of Aeschines, and has some idea of Demosthenes' greatness; like most people, he rejects Kahrstedt's view of him as a Persian agent. And he does not make the mistake of treating the League of Corinth as a real unification; it was a political arrangement of great possibilities. But Philip's Persian project cannot have formed part of the constitutive law of the League, as Kaerst thinks; Wilcken has since cleared this up, and, moreover, the *form* of a constitutive law seems to render it impossible.

Book III., Alexander, is much the longest, and is so treated as to lead up to Kaerst's well-known theory that Alexander's aim was to be the divine ruler of the whole earth (das gesamte Welt). It must be said plainly that his Alexander, created in 1895, is not historical, but is a direct product of certain lines of (chiefly German) thought in the nineteenth century. It is a companion figure to Mommsen's Caesar. The same conception of Alexander was, however, independently put forward, also in 1895, by Radet in France; and though it has naturally swept Germany, even there some, as Niese and Strack, have vehemently protested. I can only notice three main points here. (1) Kaerst has done much work on the sources, and long ago reached the conclusion that you may, nay must, use the Cleitarchus vulgate to supplement Arrian. But unfortunately his enlarged appendix on the sources omits to consider the one thing vital to his view; between his first and second editions Reuss practically, and then Schnabel (*Berosos und Kleitarchos*, 1912) conclusively, proved that Cleitarchus was no contemporary of Alexander's, but wrote not *earlier* than c. 260. This will make it impossible to use the vulgate for Alexander's ideas after c. 330, when Callisthenes ceases; for what remains? Arrian shows Aristobulus knew nothing of his mind; and shall we suppose that, if he did not confide in his lifelong friend Ptolemy, he *did* talk to Onesicritus the pilot or Chares the usher? I fancy the ground has been cut away from beneath Kaerst's use of Diodorus. (2) The Orient before Alexander. Kaerst defines a world-kingdom (p. 290) as one which aims at embracing all the world it knows. But, supposing Aecad and Assyria were 'world-kingdoms,' how does this bear on Alexander's intentions? Did he study their rulers' titles in the cuneiforms? Take India instead. There 'universal monarchs' were common enough from Vedic times onward; every king who performed the horse-sacrifice was a 'conqueror of the whole earth'; but

it was only a *title*, with little meaning: two at once seem known. The 'whole earth' meant your next-door neighbours, as often in the O.T. Kaerst takes these sort of titles too seriously. And he does not really argue that the *Achaemenids* claimed world-rule. On the one side, their inscriptions negative it: their style was King of kings, which was true; even so, Alexander never used it. And on the other, they did not attack Greece till Athens attacked *them*. (3) Kaerst's belief in Alexander's world-kingdom is based upon Ammon, the supposed 'Memoirs,' and the Indian expedition. I have dealt with Ammon and the 'Memoirs' at length elsewhere (*J.H.S.* 1921, 1); but I note here that Kaerst argues in a circle: p. 488, Alexander's plan to conquer the Mediterranean shows he aimed at world-rule; p. 509, the Mediterranean plan *must* be true, as it is what a world-ruler would do. The Indian expedition requires doing again. Was it the completion of the conquest of Persia's one-time empire, or not? Kaerst says it was not; Alexander was invading a new world, *i. e.* world-conquest. But that Persia once ruled east of the Indus is certain; Kaerst does not consider the evidence, he merely assumes. Again, the historian of Alexander must find out—it is vital—what Alexander thought India was: that is, he must study Aristotle's geography, which Alexander had in mind at starting, and must sift the strictly contemporary evidence from that coloured from Megasthenes—no easy task, seeing that Megasthenes is much earlier than Cleitarchus. I cannot find that Kaerst has attended to this at all. Incidentally, the manner in which he alludes to Alexander's original idea that the Indus was the Nile shows that he has missed a valuable section of (German) work here, which would have helped him. One detail must be mentioned. The huge army Alexander led into India, and the use of Iranian cavalry, show (Kaerst says) that he was going outside the Achaemenid empire. But he had already used Iranian cavalry in Sogdiana (Arr. 4. 17. 3); and had Kaerst cared to work out the details of Alexander's known formations, he would have seen that the huge army he postulates is a myth.

How now does the world-kingdom synthesise the polis of Book I.? Kaerst's answer is, culturally: the polis provided the Empire's culture (which is true); but world-culture is the correlate of world-kingdom, and the *Oecumene* is therefore the polis universalised. But the cities paid for their cultural supremacy, he thinks, by the loss of freedom: on the theoretic side, Greek political thought had evolved into the idea of subjection to a monarch; on the actual side, the cities were virtually ruled by Alexander. This seems to me entirely misconceived. The former idea (drawn, I suppose, from Aristotle) is frankly inconsistent with the history of contemporary Athens (whose plucky attempt at reform Kaerst does not notice) and with much third-century history. And Alexander's rule rests solely on the exiles decree. Kaerst knows too much about the League of Corinth to attempt to reconcile it with his idea, so he treats the League as virtually abolished in 330,—reduced to 'a shadow.' But Alexander in Tapuria settled matters strictly according to the League (Arr. 3. 24, 4 ff, which Kaerst omits) as a demonstration that, in this sphere, nothing was altered. Kaerst makes Alexander treat the Ionian cities as if king, on the faith of the headings (*βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρου*) of the letters to Priene (*O.G.I.S.* 1) and Chios (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 283); but these headings were only put on the steles by the cities themselves; Alexander did not write to the Chians in *oratio obliqua* with lapses into *oratio recta* (our document is a *summary*), or date his rescript by a Chian magistrate, as the heading does. And of the instances given by Kaerst (p. 504) of Alexander's interference with the cities later, not one will stand criticism, except the exiles decree. There Alexander did begin to interfere. He *might* ultimately have gone the way Antigonos I. went; we cannot say. But in fact he died. Alexander's 'world-kingdom' does not connect very well with Book I.; possibly because it did not exist.

The work resembles an old statue with a modern head; one may admire the head, but one must recognise that it is not authentic. It has the merit of putting clearly before the reader one of the crucial problems of historical writing: if our best efforts can only draw from the sources an imperfect picture, how far (if at all) may we seek what Kaerst calls 'a deeper understanding' by completing the picture ourselves? I suppose different minds will always answer that question differently.

W. W. T.

**Posidonios.** By KARL REINHARDT. Pp. 474. Muenchen: Beek, 1921.

Posidonius is unquestioned king among the ghosts that haunt the pages of Graeco-Roman philosophy. Rumoured on every hand, his influence is suspected where rumour fails; but first-hand evidence is not to be obtained. A great wealth of reference proves an immense reputation, and provokes further inquiry; but inquiry ends where it began, with the reputation. The real man and his work remain a problem. In the treatise before us Dr. Reinhardt, who has already proved his courage by his book on Parmenides, attempts an even harder task, to bring life and body to this phantom. The fault of the diligent source-hunters, he seems to say, who have set us this problem, is the externality of their method. They collect sticks, and are surprised that they do not make a human body. The only fruitful hypothesis is that of a personality, and such a hypothesis, grounded on the certain instance, affords the only sound criterion for determining the doubtful case. His method, therefore, as he follows his author over the vast field of his writings, through geography, meteorology, cosmology, ethics, anthropology, divination, and eschatology, is to attempt to fix in each case the characteristic trait, and so little by little to build up a personality. Under each head he considers only main sources, *e. g.* in Geography, Strabo and Vitruvius, in Theology, Cicero and Sextus; but with these he deals very fully, determining in detail what is Posidonian and what not. And no doubt he hopes that the marginal cases, not explicitly considered, will settle themselves according to his results.

The clue to Reinhardt's interpretation of Posidonius seems to be a phrase from Strabo—'he is too much given to causal theories and Aristotelianism.' Posidonius is in the main the natural philosopher, who will have a reason for everything. Even his theories of divination are not the Oriental occultism that most have suspected. Oriental they may be, but not in the sense in which Philo is Oriental, and they 'breathe the same spirit as the tract *On the Ocean* and the rest.' 'If in the end he believes in miracles, he seeks first for causes. He is developing into the aetiologist and Aristotelian, never resting until he has completed a cosmology which penetrates even to the last things.' The mystery which pervades his thought is the mystery of nature's immense productivity, the mystery of life itself in its innumerable forms and varieties, and the impulse behind it all is the desire to pursue this principle into its infinite detail. However complex the detail becomes, Posidonius shows himself always a systematic thinker and a philosopher, by his consciousness that the real subject of all his predicates is the Kosmos. One might summarise this view by saying that Reinhardt regards Posidonius as a second Aristotle, but a less metaphysical Aristotle, whose central conception is Process instead of Form, in whom, therefore, the exploration of detail takes precedence of 'First Philosophy.'

Dr. Reinhardt's faith is great and infectious. It almost succeeds in carrying off all this tiresome search among the chaff for a few grains of corn. Almost, but not quite; for no faith, however great, will move the mountain of a defective tradition. The evidence is, after all, slight, and in the main uninteresting; only just sufficient to warrant a conjecture as to what Posidonius may have been. We grant that he may have been what Reinhardt says; but hypothesis remains hypothesis however positively it is asserted. Many of the negative theses of the book are both true and timely, especially the emphasis on the danger of certain kinds of literary deduction. One must also welcome the attempt to construct a real Posidonius. But gratitude for these and other things will not force the admission that Reinhardt has shown the real man. To us he remains the shadowy eclectic encyclopaedist, the omnipresent influence, the king of the ghosts.

J. L. S.

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**La Pessimisme esthétique de Nietzsche.** Sa philosophie à l'époque wagnérienne.

By CHARLES ANDLER. Pp. 390. Paris: Editions Bossard, 1921. Fr. 18.

In this third volume of his impressive series *Nietzsche, sa vie et sa pensée*, M. Andler has composed into an organism, whose elaborate structure and beauty of detail does not obscure his singleness of vision, the splendid tumult of Nietzsche's thought during the period which opened with *The Birth of Tragedy*.

He begins at the source, with Nietzsche's re-statement of the problem of Art in its two aspects of 'intoxication,' or escape into the suffering will behind phenomena, which he called Dionysus, and 'imagination,' or its appeasement in form, which he called Apollo.

Without ignoring in that first book such details as were doubtful or even false, M. Andler perceives in the discovery of the Dionysian spirit its claim to immortality. The dimness of Apollo's figure he attributes to inevitable ignorance regarding the primitive powers, whose conquest by the Olympians was indeed the birthday of Europe. But Nietzsche never placed much dependence upon historical analogies. It would seem rather that as 'the disciple of a yet unknown God,' he could then focus no other image.

When, however, his illumination began to shape itself into thought, and turned to that other 'fleur miraculeuse' of the Greek spirit—her philosophy—he beheld in the unceasing movement of the very substance of life, the conflict of Apollo and Dionysus as perception and will, held together by the common memory which reveals itself in the regularity of natural laws.

M. Andler devotes the greater part of his book to the tracing of their relations in Nietzsche's mind, as it explored the pre-Socratic philosophers or the researches of modern biology, until he arrived at the conception of a relativity of values, whose adjustment amid the illusions of eternal change could create the future.

He shows him emerging at last to construct a theory of civilisation, which he grandly defined as a unity of style in all the activities of a people's life. Nietzsche saw in the past but one such moment of equilibrium of forces, a sole Theoxenia in which the brother Gods clasped hands. He affirmed that the spectator of that festival could evoke from the dormant energies of the present an imperishable vitality, of which the untimely flowering of Greece was but a prophecy.

Zarathustra was about to be born, and those who have followed him to that point will await M. Andler's coming volumes with impatience.

G. R. L.

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**Agricola.** A Study of Agriculture and Rustic Life in the Greco-Roman World from the point of view of Labour. Pp. x + 492. By W. E. HEITLAND. Cambridge: The University Press, 1921. 47s. 6d.

In this valuable work Mr. Heitland begins his inquiry with the Homeric poems, and with unwearying persistence pursues it through the relevant authorities to the fifth century A.D. Amid all the changes and increasing complexity of this long period, he keeps to his chosen topic—rustic labour conditions in the ancient world—with an almost rigid fidelity. Thus, in dealing with the earliest primitive conditions, he will not be drawn from his special problem into any discussion of the origin of Property: 'We can only begin with ownership in some form, however rudimentary;' in particular, 'how private property grew out of common ownership is a question beyond the range of the present inquiry.' Similarly, when the fifth century of our era is reached and Roman Gaul is in question, he will attempt no 'full description' of contemporary society there; for that, we are referred to the 'admirable' work of Sir Samuel Dill. Even labour conditions in callings other than agriculture are throughout considered mainly in order to illumine by way of contrast or comparison the rustic conditions under discussion. Agriculture is singled out for special examination for three reasons: firstly, it is the basic industry—on it human life and all other industries and all progress 'did and do rest'; secondly, as time went on, its economic importance in the ancient world manifestly increased; thirdly, its importance is not merely economic; as a nursery of steady citizens and at need of hardy soldiers, agriculture possesses a moral value which may not be overlooked. Yet this strenuous adherence to one topic of inquiry implies no narrowness of outlook in its treatment. On the contrary, Mr. Heitland brings to bear on the discussion not only the widest and most intimate acquaintance with classical writers; he calls to his aid Byzantine authorities also, and a goodly array of writers who

deal with analogous conditions among modern peoples. All this varied material he handles in such a way that it is never allowed to obscure the central problems of his book.

The main conclusions Mr. Heitland reaches may perhaps be thus summarised. Labour, simply as labour, without regard to the possible profit and loss attending its results, was no more desired or engaged in for its own sake in ancient times than it is now. The farmer, be he owner himself or merely tenant, was from earliest times always willing to devolve the *farm-work* upon others whenever he could; and as a means of escaping the drudgery he found the accepted institution of slavery ready to his hand. Free wage-labour never really competed with slave-labour in agriculture; that free men worked for wages on farms we know, but of such free workers we hear very little, and then almost entirely as temporary helpers in seasons of special pressure. Thus, ancient civilisation rested in fact on a basis of slavery, and Mr. Heitland inclines to the view that slavery in some form or degree was an 'indispensable' condition of its progress. The lot of the rustic slave was far from being a happy one. Unlike his urban brother, who as crafts and industry developed might be made use of in ways which allowed him some degree of liberty and the hope of manumission, the rural slave had no prospect of freedom; at the best, he was kept at work till he could work no longer, and then left to linger on the estate, feeding on what he could find and decaying in peace; at the worst, after long years of exhausting labour he was sold off to a new master for what he would fetch—the 'stonily merciless' policy (as Mr. Zimmern once termed it) approved by the elder Cato. The former treatment was what he might ordinarily expect on farms where the primitive 'domestic' conditions still prevailed, under which a slave found a place, however humble, in the family, a close union of persons bound together by ties of blood and religion under a recognised Head. But as great estates emerged—on which agriculture had been industrialised, and was conducted by means of gangs of slaves driven on by overseers whom the system compelled to be merciless—the old domestic relation disappeared in the brutal exploitation of human animals for immediate profit. The lot of these plantation slaves, cowed by the scourge, the fetters, and the prison, and with no prospect save that of being cast off when worn out, is (with the single reservation that their occupations, being above ground in the open air, were healthier) to be compared only with the lot of the unfortunate wretches who were kept in thousands in bondage in the mines, where they slaved till they perished. The brutal callousness this system implied and the degradation of manual labour it undoubtedly caused were not its only evils. Through its tendency to remedy all shortcomings by simply using up more flesh and blood, it fatally deadened inventive genius and prevented economic improvements; and from all this followed, naturally enough, first the stagnation and then the decay of ancient civilisation. The slave-system became a canker economic, social, ultimately political. 'I believe,' writes Mr. Heitland, 'that the maladies from which the old Greco-Roman civilisation suffered, and which in the end brought about its decay and fall, were indirectly or directly due to this taint more than to any other cause.'

Were these conclusions presented simply as among the impressions left upon a scholarly mind by a lifetime of research, they would demand attention. But we are not asked to accept them merely on authority. It is a conspicuous merit in this book that Mr. Heitland seeks always to give us the contemporary evidence on which his conclusions rest. From century to century we are kept in vivifying contact with such evidence as remains. And since, unfortunately, 'the available record neither provides adequate labour statistics nor furnishes a criticism of existing conditions from the point of view of the handworkers,' it became necessary 'to take each witness separately, so far as possible, and not to appraise the value of his testimony without a fair consideration of his condition and environment.' This enormous labour Mr. Heitland has in no wise shirked, but has patiently put his authorities into the witness-box and questioned them one by one. It is, he admits, a long method; assuredly, it must have cost its user much weariness of the flesh; but the result is a careful collection and sifting of authoritative passages bearing on the conditions of rural labour during well-nigh fifteen centuries, which as a mere marshalling of evidence (apart from other merits) possesses permanent value, and will provoke in many who use it both gratitude and admiration for its author. The jealous Fates have withheld from Mr. Heitland the gifts of style; often, too, there is grammatical roughness in his writing, which is rarely

other than bald and pedestrian; indeed, the book is not easy reading. But these defects are more than balanced by the unfaltering thoroughness, the cautious circumspection, the erudition and the wisdom with which the evidence is sought out and examined.

P. A. S.

**Olympic Victor Monuments and Greek Athletic Art.** By WALTER WOOD-BURN HYDE. Pp. xix + 406, 30 plates, 80 illustrations in text. Washington: The Carnegie Institute, 1921.

The athletic monuments of Olympia have given rise to a considerable amount of scattered literature. In the present elaborate volume Walter Hyde, who has devoted many years to this study, has collected and discussed all this material. The clearness of the arrangement, the excellent table of contents and index make the book invaluable for all students of the subject.

Beginning with a brief account of Greek games and prizes, he proceeds to discuss the characteristics of victor statues. The bulk of the book consists in a classification of athletic types and a discussion of existing remains that illustrate these types. The last chapter deals with the positions of the athletic statues described by Pausanias in the Altis of Olympia.

The writer's conscientiousness makes the book somewhat difficult reading. Amid the multitude of authorities and opinions quoted it is not always easy to discover his own view, nor is he always quite consistent. Thus it is not quite clear whether he regards the 'manus supinas' of the *Praying Boy* as uplifted in prayer or not (p. 132). In discussing the *Standing Diskobolos* he accepts the orthodox view that the statue represents a mortal athlete taking up his position for the throw (pp. 76, 220); yet on p. 78 he would restore it as a Hermes with a caduceus in his right hand, not realising that the whole effect of the statue, every line of which denotes preparation for action, would be ruined by the addition of such an attribute. Again, while accepting on p. 117 the earlier date for Polykleitos, on p. 151 he places the *Doryphoros* many years after Pheidias.

Hyde clears away many misconceptions. Victor statues, he shows, were not made exclusively of bronze, nor are they necessarily life-size. Plutarch's statement that only those who had won three victories were allowed to erect portrait statues, even if true of his own time, was certainly not true of Greek times. The vexed question whether victor statues were *ἀναθήματα* or, as Pausanias says, *ἐν ἀθλῶν λόγῳ*, he compromises somewhat weakly: 'Some athletic statues were votive, some were not.' The distinction made by Pausanias is purely artificial. Dio Chrysostom, in a passage quoted by Hyde on p. 41, states that athletic statues were *ἀναθήματα* and contrasts them with honorary statues. Is a memorial window in a church a memorial or a dedication? Surely it is both, and so was the athletic statue in a Greek sanctuary.

The most valuable chapters in the book are those in which he classifies and discusses athletic types in art. It is often difficult to determine the motive of a statue, especially when the statue is a late copy or is mutilated, and some of Hyde's interpretations are very doubtful. Thus, I cannot agree with him in regarding the famous Subiaco marble as a belated survival of the archaic Knielauf motive. It is incredible that an artist who could conceive and execute such a torso should have so completely failed to represent the attitude of running. Nor can I agree that the two marble statues from Velletri now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori are 'our best representations of runners' (p. 198). They may be wrestlers, they may be diskoboloi, they cannot possibly be runners. Men do not run with their feet at right angles. A far more likely representation of a runner is the marble statue in Boston which Hyde interprets as a charioteer.

Hyde discusses in some detail certain heads from Olympia. The two archaic helmeted heads he assigns to statues of Hoplitodromoi. This may be correct; and if so the statues may have been those of Phanas of Pellene, and Phrikias of Pelinna, if the latter was a man and not a horse (Pindar, *Pyth.* x. 12). The date of the fine bronze portrait head of a boxer is much disputed. Hyde dates it in the third century, and on the strength of this assigns

it to the statue of Kapros. He discusses very fully an ideal head of a boxer, sometimes described as a head of Herakles. By careful comparison with the *Agias* he shows that it is certainly Lysippean in character, but this does not justify us in describing it as an actual work by Lysippos himself or in identifying it with any particular statue of his. Such conjectures are fascinating, but in the present state of our knowledge most hazardous, especially when used as bases for further conjectures.

The last chapter, which is based on Hyde's earlier work, *De Olympionicarum Statuis*, is a useful contribution to the vexed question of Olympian topography, and vindicates the accuracy of Pausanias. Indeed, where, in my opinion, Hyde errs, is in not sufficiently appreciating this accuracy. He shows how Pausanias begins his round by describing the statues south of the Heraion, and then proceeds southwards till he reaches the statue of Telemachos, the basis of which was found *in situ* close to the south wall of the Altis. The next fixed point is the basis of Philonides, also found *in situ* close to the south-west corner of the Altis. Hence most writers assume that the statues enumerated by Pausanias (vi. 13, 11-16. 5) were placed between these two points, and that Pausanias describes them as he saw them, going from east to west. Hyde, however, proposes to place them east of the Telemachos statue, arguing from the fact that the inscription of Aristophon, the first on the list, was found just to the east of Telemachos, and one part of the base of Xenombrotos further east, near the Colonnade. Now, the blocks of buildings in the Altis were so freely used by later inhabitants for building, and are so widely scattered, that little reliance can be placed on their evidence except so far as they confirm Pausanias. In the case of Xenombrotos one block was found to the east, another inscription belonging to another statue in his honour was found to the south of the Temple, not far from the spot where we should expect from Pausanias to find it. Hyde admits that both statues must have stood together. The obvious inference is that they both stood south of the Temple. The next nineteen statues were placed by Hyde in his earlier work west of the Temple. He has now changed his opinion, and without any evidence assigns them to a row of bases south of the Altis wall and a shorter row opposite the Leonidaion. To this there are serious objections. First, it makes Pausanias retrace his steps needlessly. Secondly, these bases form a very remarkable and distinct group. They are large bases evidently belonging to one period, and from their size probably supported equestrian statues. Two of them actually bear the inscriptions of Roman magistrates. A little further east in the same line is the monument of Mummus. It is reasonable to suppose that on all these bases stood statues of Roman officials and benefactors, many of whose inscriptions have been found.

Two small errors may be noted. On page 47, speaking of the nudity of athletes, Hyde quotes the story of Pherenike as told by Philostratos. The latter is speaking not of athletes but of *γυμνασταὶ* at Olympia. Again, on page 237 he wrongly describes as *μείλιχαι* the glove on the bronze arm in Fig. 52. The hard leather round the knuckle shows that they are *ἱμάντες ὀξεῖς*.

If I have dwelt unduly on points on which I disagree with Hyde, it must be remembered that the whole subject is full of difficulties. In these cases the careful and ample references which the author gives enables the reader to form his own opinion.

E. N. G.

**The Temple Coins of Olympia.** By CHARLES T. SELTMAN. Pp. x + 117, 12 plates. Reprinted from *Nomisma*. Cambridge: Bowes and Bowes, 1921. £2 2s.

Mr. Seltman has done a laborious piece of intensive work in Greek numismatics. The great feature of it is the scrupulous care with which he has recorded every die known to him, and the conjunctions of obverse and reverse dies. Thus he has secured a wider and more exact basis for the determination of the dates and character of the successive issues. On the other hand, he has not followed the example of Mr. G. F. Hill and others in stating in each case the position of the two types in relation to one another. In any case his twelve quarto plates of coins, and his exact descriptions of them in the text, constitute a far more complete apparatus of the coins than has before existed.

It is satisfactory to find that this new and valuable material completely confirms the

dates for the series adopted in the British Museum Catalogue (Peloponnesus, Gardner, 1887). But though Mr. Seltman accepts these dates, he resolutely refuses to connect them with the history of Elis. Thus he dates the first appearance of the head of Hera on the coins to 421 B.C., but refuses to connect it with the formation of a league between Elis and Argos which took place immediately after the peace of Nikias. He assigns some at least of the coins with the inscription API to about 271 B.C., but refuses to see in the inscription the name of the Elean tyrant Aristotimus, who ruled at that time. Such scepticism, which is certainly excessive, is based on his view that all the coins which bear the name of the people of Elis were in fact struck at Olympia, and belong exclusively to the sacred site. The coins bearing as types the eagle or Victory or the head of Zeus were, he thinks, struck in the precincts of the temple of Zeus—which, by the way, did not exist when the earliest of them were issued—and the coins bearing the head of Hera in the precincts of the Heraeum, which does not appear to have had any precincts.

It has long been recognised that the coins have a close relation to the sacred site, and were issued largely in connection with the agonistic festival. But against the view that they were struck continuously and in the Altis itself there are certainly objections. Only a few of them, under special circumstances, bear the name of Olympia. Some of these seem to date from about the time of the *συνοικισμός* of the people of Elis, when their citadel was built; for the rest Mr. Seltman accepts the generally received date of 363, just after the Eleans had expelled the people of Pisa from the presidency of the games. It is difficult to agree with him that the inscription ΟΛΥΝΠΙΚΟΝ stands for 'Ολυμπικῶν, which he interprets as 'Ολυμπικῶν ἀγώνων σῆμα. A great number of parallels, and especially that from the coins inscribed 'Αρκαδικόν, suggest that the form is really neuter, 'Ολυμπικὸν νόμισμα. For the other reading no parallel can be cited. And when ΦΑΛΕΙΟΝ occurs on one side of the coins and ΟΛΥΝΠΙΚΟΝ on the other, it is hardly possible to avoid putting the two together: 'The Olympian issue of the money of Elis.'

However, the point is of no great importance; whether the coins were minted at Elis or at Olympia, they belong alike to the state of Elis and to the sanctuary of Olympia. That the Eleans, the wealthiest people of Peloponnese, had no state coinage is most improbable. That the Zeus mint and the Hera mint worked independently Mr. Seltman has certainly proved; and this is a notable gain.

The least satisfactory section of the book is that which deals with the weights of the coins (p. 109). The author formulates the view that 'it is the Olympian standard, and not the Aeginetan, as has been generally supposed, upon which the Elean coins were struck.' The two standards are in fact identical: both are of Pheidonian origin. Mr. Seltman accepts the dictum of Sir W. Ridgeway that 'the ancient mint-master was no more inclined than his modern representative to put into coins of gold or silver a single grain more than the legal amount.' But this is quite inconsistent with the facts. In the pure silver coins of Athens, and even in the gold coins of Philip and Alexander, which do not lose weight by oxidation, there are found variations, not of a single grain, but of several grains. It has been a matter of dispute among numismatists whether the standard weights of series of coins should be decided by weighing the heaviest known example, or by taking an average of the well-preserved specimens. Neither system is satisfactory if accepted mechanically: one must use one's wits. But the dominant fact, which must never be lost sight of, is the well-established custom, in the case of ancient mints as well as in the Middle Ages, that the responsible officials had to strike a definite number of coins out of a given weight of metal. They had no means of exactly regulating the weights of individual specimens, as does the modern mint-master, but tried to approximate to an average. Thus if a few of the coins were somewhat heavier than what was due, they struck others lighter than what was due in compensation. Where the blanks were cast in a mould, as at Syracuse, greater exactness was possible; but in many issues the wide variations show rougher measures of adjustment. Thus the many savants who have busied themselves in trying by weighing to ascertain, often to the hundredth of a gramme, the precise legal standards of coins have laboured in vain: an approximation is all that is possible. In this matter, as in the case of the arrangements of the Greek theatre, and in other cases, modern prejudices have hindered the full understanding of ancient conditions.



However, setting aside these historic doubts, we must conclude by expressing our gratitude to Mr. Seltman for placing before us so orderly an arrangement of so beautiful and interesting a series of coins. It is a laborious piece of work successfully accomplished, and its value will be great to all students of Greek coins.

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**Catalogue of the Silver Plate (Greek, Etruscan, and Roman) in the British Museum.** By H. B. WALTERS, M.A., F.S.A., O.B.E. Pp. xxiv + 70, with 30 colotype plates and 78 figures in the text. London: Printed by Order of the Trustees, 1921.

This handsome volume is slimmer than one could have wished. The British Museum is unfortunately less rich in ancient silver-plate than some of its continental rivals; it contains no single finds at all comparable to the great hoards from Hildesheim or Boscoreale or Berthouville. Moreover, the exigencies of organisation have relegated two of the most noteworthy of the treasures which it does possess—those from the Esquiline and from Carthage—to a different department; they have been admirably handled by Mr. Dalton in his *Catalogue of Christian Antiquities*, but there are so many points of contact between them and the later of the pieces with which Mr. Walters deals that it would have been very convenient to have had the whole group brought together, particularly as it is for the study of this later period that the present Catalogue will be most valuable.

Greek silver-work of the best period is extraordinarily uncommon everywhere. It is therefore not surprising that there are few examples of it here. On the other hand, the London specimens of the craftsmanship of Alexandria, as of the provincial industries to which it gave birth, are fairly numerous and representative. The table-service from Chaource and the patera from Caubiac might be singled out for special mention. But there is much besides that is arresting. So far as Britain itself is concerned, the votive tablets from Barkway and Stony Stratford are perhaps the most intrinsically interesting objects. The exiguous set of fragments from Coleraine tells precisely the same story as does the much more abundant series discovered a year or two ago in Scotland; the two must have been buried about the same time and under very similar circumstances. The condition of the Capheaton treasure suggests a different reflection. To spare the decorated parts of vessels is more like a modern vandal than an ancient one. Can they have been mutilated, not before they were concealed, but after they were discovered in 1747?

Mr. Walters has performed his task of description carefully and well, and the notes which he adds will be of material assistance to those who have occasion to use the book. The Introduction is a lucid and helpful summary of what is known as to the technique and the history of the silversmith's art in antiquity. On p. xiv it is truly said that 'during the best period of Greek art, from the sixth century down to the end of the fourth, we hear little of working in silver.' But a reference to the passage in which Thucydides explains the trick played upon the Athenian envoys by the Egestaeans would have been in place here. A few lines further down, where we are told that 'a cup by Acragas with hunting-scenes also enjoyed great fame,' room might have been found for mention of Th. Reinach's highly ingenious interpretation of the *Acragantis venatio* of Pliny: it is a singularly attractive conjecture and would account for an otherwise unknown artist. These, however, are trifles. Taken all in all, the *Catalogue* with its excellent illustrations is worthy of the great national institution with which it is associated. And there could be no higher praise.

GAMMA.

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**Λεξικὸν Ἑρμηνευτικόν.** By GREGORIOS N. BERNARDAKIS. Athens: Petrakos, 1918.

Mr. Bernardakis, who is perhaps best known in England as the editor of Plutarch's *Moralia* in the Teubner series, has now produced under the above title a second edition of an earlier work. Besides having undergone a general revision, this edition differs from its predecessor in giving the explanation of passages quoted under one head only, while by means of an

index, or 'Ενρετήριο, a reference to any passage there will show every page and column of the lexicon where it is cited. Consequently, though containing more matter, it is less bulky than the earlier issue. Nevertheless it is a volume of considerable size, as the following statistics will show. It contains 24 pages of Introduction, followed by 1283 pages of double columns, 8½ inches in height by 5 in width, a full column containing 63 lines. It will be admitted that this is a great undertaking for any one man to venture upon, and the author is to be heartily congratulated on having brought his work to a successful conclusion.

As the title implies, his object has not been to compile a complete dictionary of the language—as indeed is plain from the contents of the first page, *ἀάω, ἀβακέω, ἀβυκήs, ἄβαλε, ἀβύππιστος, ἀβασκάντως, ἄβατος*.—but rather to use selected words as pegs on which to hang explanations and emendations of passages where he does not agree with the reading or exposition accepted by other scholars. To deal with these at all fully would require a volume rivalling the lexicon itself, but a few may be selected from the examples cited by the author himself in his introduction, and therefore, it may be presumed, those by which he would wish to be judged.

In the following passages he holds that no emendation is needed. *Æsch. Pers.* 815. ἐκπαιδεύεται. "οὐδέπω γάρ, φησί, τῶν κακῶν κρηπὶς ἐπόμεται οὐδὲ συνέστηκε· τὰ γὰρ κακὰ, ἤγονν ἢ μέλλουσα τῶν νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων γενεά, ἐκτρέφεται ἔτι καὶ ἐκπαιδεύεται καὶ παρασκευάζεται. (When full-grown) μέγιστα κακὰ τοῖς Πέρσας ἐργάζονται."

*Æsch. Ag.* 967. "ἐξέτεινε σκιὰν εἰς ἀποτροπὴν (= ἐπερ—) τῶν κινῆκων καυμάτων."

*Soph. Phil.* 1128 seqq. "ἐρμήνευσον: ὁρᾷς (ἐμὲ) τὸν Ἡρακλέους διώδοχον (= τὸν Ἡράκλειον), ὧδε ἄθλιον (= οὕτως ἀθλίως διακείμεον: << ποῦ εἰρίσκειμαι εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἀθλίαν κατάστασιν >>), οὐκέτι χρησόμενός σοι (= τῷ τόξῳ) τὸ μεθύτερον."

*Soph. Aj.* 1281. οὐδὲ συμβῆναι ποδὶ. Teucer interprets the ποῦ βάντος ἢ ποῦ στάντος of Agamemnon as follows: "ὅπουδὴποτε ἔβαινε ἢ ὅπουδὴποτε ἵστατο Αἴας, καὶ γὰρ παρὴν, πρῶτος μὲν ἐγώ, δεύτερος δ' ἐκεῖνος: ἐγὼ μὲν ἡγούμενος, ἐκεῖνος δ' ἐφεπόμενος καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῦ ῥήμασι πειθόμενος. Κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὸ οὐδὲ συμβῆναι ποδὶ = οὐδὲ σὺν σοὶ βῆναι (συμβαδίσαι ὡς ἴσον ἴσῳ) ἀλλ' ἀκολουθήσαι." But can we understand so much here, or again in *Eur. Heracl.* 884: "Νόει ὧδε: ἴνα αἰτὸν διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἴδῃς τὸν (ἄλλοτε) κρατοῦντα καὶ (νῦν) τῇ σῇ χειρὶ κρατούμενον (ἐπὶ τῆς σῆς χειρὸς ἐξουσιαζόμενον)."?

The following passages he would emend:—

*Soph. Fragm.* 950. Θεῶ for Θεῖα, explaining οἷχ ἐπάρχει γῆρας τῶν σοφῶν, ἐν οἷς ὁ νοῖς θεῖας τροφῆς (τῆς σοφείας) γεγευμένος (ἀπολελευκῶς) διάγει τὸν χρόνον., and referring for ἔστιν χρόνος to *Aj.* 622.

*Eur. Phoen.* 22. πείρας (ἀόρ. τοῦ πείρω) for σπείρας, omitting 26, 27.

*Ar. Eq.* 755, where by a slip Ἀχαρν. is printed for Ἰππ., (p. 17). ἐμπολίζων for ἐμποδίζων. "εὔρηται δὲ τὸ ἐμπολίζω παρὰ Ἡτολεμαίῳ ὡς σενώννυμον τοῦ ἐναξονίζω . . . Ἐμπολίζων λοιπὸν ἰσημαίνει: περιῶν διὰ τῶν δίῳ πόλων (τῶν δίῳ ἄκροι) τῶν σέκων σπαρτιά, καὶ οὕτω ποιῶν ὁρμαθούς."

*Arist. Poet.* c. 21. οἷον τὰ πολλὰ τῶν μεγαλειωτῶν, Ἑρμοκαϊκόξαιθος \* \* (Bywater). But *A'* has μεγαλιωτῶν, and Mr. Bernardakis would extract from this μέγαν Δι' αἰτῶν, writing the whole passage thus: οἷον τὰ πολλὰ τῶν Μασσαλιωτῶν, μέγαν Δι' αἰτῶν Ἑρμοκαϊκόξαιθος.

These citations will suffice to show what the author offers to his readers, and it must be left to our leading scholars to decide what can be accepted, and what must be rejected.

*Non nostrum . . . tantas componere lites.*

H. W. G.

Ἀθηναῖκον Ἀρχοντολόγιον. *A'*. Οἱ ἄρχοντες Μπενιζέλοι. By D. G. ΚΑΜΠΟΥΡΟΓΛΟΣ. Athens: Sidéres, 1921.

K. Kampoúroglos has long been known as a profound student of Turkish Athens, upon which he has published three volumes of documents and three more of a history, unfortunately not continued after 1687. The present treatise of 208 pages is the first instal-

ment of a biographical and genealogical account of the Athenian archontic families, which formed the first of the four classes composing Athenian society in Turkish times. Of these families that of the Benizéloi—not to be confounded with the still greater name of the famous Greek statesman of our day—is the most interesting, having produced a considerable number of local celebrities under the Turks. Tradition connects the Benizéloi with the Acciajuoli, the Florentine Dukes of Athens; but the first documentary mention of any member of this, the foremost of the 12 chief archontic families, occurs in the office of the Blessed Philothée, daughter of Angelos Benizélos. This patriarch of the family was born about 1490, and his celebrated daughter, whose remains are still an object of veneration, was martyred by the Turks in 1589. The Benizéloi produced several prominent teachers, notably Angelos ‘the triumphant,’ so-called for his victory in a theological discussion, commemorated in the poem of Bouboúles; Demétrios, mentioned by Babin and Spon; and Joánnēs, the historian of Athens in the latter half of the eighteenth century. They can boast of an artist, who decorated the monastery of Phaneroméne in Salamis, and their name is commemorated in an inscription of 1682 in the still more famous monastery of Kaisariané, which was traditionally connected with them and the family of Chalkokondyles, the last Athenian historian of the Middle Ages. In modern times, as English readers will learn with interest, the mother of K. Gennádiος, for long Greek Minister in London, was the daughter of a Benizélos. This scholarly little book ends with a genealogical tree of the Benizéloi.

WILLIAM MILLER.

**New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature: Recent Discoveries in Greek Poetry and Prose of the Fourth and following Centuries B.C.**

Edited by J. U. POWELL and E. A. BARBER. Pp. xi + 166. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921. 10s. 6d. net.

The need of such a volume as this, gathering together the results of recent discoveries, has long been felt, and the editors and contributors have earned the gratitude of all students. One may indeed wish—human beings are notoriously an ungrateful race!—that they had widened the scope of their undertaking to include recent additions to Greek literature of all periods; but that would, of course, have meant a much bigger volume, which in these days would have involved heavy expense, and we must be thankful for what we are given, hoping that the editors may some day follow up their gift with a second.

Apart from one or two exceptions, like the appendix to Chapter V, in which a brief description of the farce and mime in P. Oxy. 413 and the mime in Pap. Londin. 1984 is given, the editors have fixed their lower limit of time in the second century B.C.; thus the volume really includes only the sub-classical period of the fourth century B.C., and the Hellenistic period down to the virtual absorption of the Greek world into the Roman Empire. Within these limits of time the editors have cast their net widely, and the volume gives a very complete review of the recent discoveries. It does not aim at furnishing an exhaustive bibliography of the works mentioned, but the principal editions and most important commentaries are usually referred to, and the character and literary merits (or demerits) of the compositions are indicated.

There is possibly, here and there, a tendency to overrate the importance of the new finds, but that is natural enough in the circumstances, and is certainly better than the excessive depreciation with which some scholars, disappointed in their (often absurdly exaggerated) expectations, have treated them. Perhaps the tendency referred to is most marked in Mr. Luub's chapter on Menander. That he should emphasise the many merits of that, in his degree, admirable writer, as against the quite unjust strictures of several critics, is all to the good; but he surely exaggerates them in more than one place. In his synopsis of the *Περικειρομένη* he rather misses the fun of Sosias's ‘army’; and he should not speak (p. 91) of the fragments coming ‘chiefly from the tombs and earthen vessels of Egypt’; ‘ruins and rubbish heaps’ would be a better representation of the facts. But these are small points; the chapter is to be welcomed as a salutary corrective to the popular depreciation of Menander.

Mr. G. C. Richards gives a very discriminating review of the *miniambi* of Herondas; and wholly admirable is Mr. E. M. Walker's account of the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* and the *Athenaion Politeia*. It is, however, invidious to single out individual chapters: the whole volume can be read with profit, though not all the views expressed in it will meet with equal acceptance. Already, too, some additions have to be recorded both to the list of new discoveries and to the bibliographical references on those dealt with: but that is inevitable so long as new discoveries of papyri continue to be made.

**Callimachi Fragmenta nuper Reperta. Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen**, herausgegeben von HANS LIETZMANN, No. 145). Edidit RUDOLFUS PFELFFER. Pp. 94. Bonn: A. Marcus und E. Weber's Verlag, 1921.

This admirable series, which is now familiar to workers in many different spheres, continues to grow steadily, despite the difficulties of the time, and the present volume will be not less welcome to the classical scholar than its predecessors in the same field. The editor in his brief preface explains that his first intention was to include only the more important fragments found in the papyrus or vellum MSS. from Egypt, but he eventually decided to add also the smaller scraps recovered from scholia, lexica or papyri. These scraps are often small or of little value, but it is convenient to have a complete collection, and his decision is therefore to be commended. He gives, besides the texts, brief introductions and bibliographies to the single pieces and a rather full critical commentary, dealing separately with scholia (where these are found in the papyri concerned), questions of reading, and points of interpretation. He has collated the Berlin papyri, and incorporates new readings of the Geneva vellum fragment, supplied by Prof. Martin. As he has also done a good deal himself in the way of restoration and interpretation, it will be seen that the volume, like others in the series, is not a mere school-book but a substantial contribution to knowledge. In one respect, through no fault of his, it is ill-timed; it appeared just before the publication, in Part XV. of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, of some important new Callimachean fragments. But this is a fate to which all workers in the field of papyrology are liable, and it may be hoped that a second edition will be called for, in which the new fragments can be incorporated. The editor indeed, in a note at the end, expresses the hope that he may be able to include them in an 'editio maior eum indice verborum,' which he is to publish shortly; and he also promises a volume of 'Kallimachosstudien,' to which there are frequent references in the notes to the present volume.

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**Jules Nicole, 1842-1921.** Edited by CHARLES BERNARD. Pp. 79. Genève: Edition *Revue Mensuelle*, [1922]. Fr. 4.

This is a memorial volume in honour of the regretted Prof. Nicole of Geneva. Various scholars, Swiss, French, German, and British, have contributed appreciations or reminiscences of the deceased scholar, of whom an excellent photograph serves as frontispiece. Prof. Jouguet has compiled a bibliography of Nicole's works; Georges Nicole, the son of the subject of the memoir, contributes a translation of the *Georgos* of Menander, acquired and edited by Nicole, with a photograph of one page of the MS., and several of Nicole's articles, chiefly on papyri, but including also a very interesting one on Isaac Casaubon's Journal, are reprinted, together with some of his poems. The volume is a pleasing act of homage to the memory of an excellent scholar and very attractive personality, and it gives a good idea of the great services rendered by him to classical studies in general and to the University of Geneva in particular. The purchase of the Geneva collection of papyri is a lasting memorial of his enthusiasm and energy; and it is pleasant to know that the traditions set by him are being continued by his successor, Prof. Martin, who has recently been instrumental in securing an addition to the papyrus collection.

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British Museum. Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia (Nabataea, Arabia Provincia, S. Arabia, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Assyria, Persia, Alexandrine Empire of the East, Persis, Elymais, Characene). By G. F. HILL, F.B.A. Pp. cccx + 360, Map, 55 plates. London, 1922. £3 10s.

This volume brings much nearer completion the splendid series which it adorns; there remain to be published but the Catalogues of Cyrene, Carthage and N. Africa, Spain and Gaul, and at the other end of the world the coins of Alexander. Here we have an account of what may be called the Semitic and Iranian fringe: just as no one but Mr. Hill could have written it, so no one in the kingdom is competent to review it.

Of the most generally attractive group, the coinage of the Achaemenids (Pl. XXIV.-XXVII.), Mr. Hill has lately treated in this Journal and no more need be said: it leads on to the coins of Alexander struck at Babylon (Pl. XX.-XXIII.), which offer a clear example of the continuity of his empire with that of the Achaemenids; his satraps such as Mazaeus were more inclined to follow the Greek fashion. Mr. Hill is ready to allow that the famous decadrachm (Pl. XXII. 18) with the horseman attacking an elephant may celebrate the victory over Porus. In this and in the view that the punch-marks on the Darics were not impressed in India he is supported by Dr. G. Macdonald in the *Cambridge History of India*. The coinage of Mesopotamia (Pl. XII.-XIX.) is perhaps the least interesting part of the book, being mostly city issues of Antonine and later date with Greek and Latin inscriptions. Edessa furnishes the only exception with its royal coins, the earliest of them with Aramaic writing. In the other regions it is the Greek which gives way to Semitic scripts. The rest of the area is occupied by obscure kingdoms. The task of working out their skeleton history mainly falls upon the numismatist: from the coins we learn the kings' names and sometimes their dates; more often they have to be set in order by considerations of type and style; rarely do inscriptions or literary sources, Classical and Oriental, afford any help; but of all this evidence Mr. Hill is master.

Apart from names and dates, the Nabatean coins (Pl. I.-III.) are interesting for the simultaneous use of two standards intended for commerce in different directions; after the kingdom was reduced to a Roman province the emblems of various Semitic gods, some of them going back to Old Testament times, call for most attention (Pl. III.-VII. 2). The Sabaeen and Himyarite coins (Pl. VII. 3-XI. 19) with their imitation of Attic types are one more evidence of the wide range of Attic commerce: the Aramaic (?) inscription which appears side by side with the S. Arabian monograms has not yet been deciphered: Mr. Hill has separated from the Sabaeen and Himyarite series certain coins that he ascribes to the Katabanians and Minaeans. Other imitations of Attic types come from N. Arabia (Pl. XI. 20-26, LV. 2-9).

In the other Semitic region of Characene (Pl. XLIII.-XLVI.) round about Muhammerah the war, as is not surprising, has added to our knowledge: to it we owe a hoard of coins struck by a new king Attambelos (Pl. LV. 10-14) who comes before the known Attambeli, so that they must be renumbered. The name has been interpreted as 'the gift of Ba'al' but the literary Greek forms Ἀθάμβιλος, Σάμβιλος suggest something like an Arabic **ظ** or **ض** and a meaning like 'Ba'al has strengthened' (cf. Gedaliah): no form is very like the name on XLV. 3-XLVI. 16 which seems to read Atmabiaz. As between the two forms ABINHPTAOY and AΔINHPTAOY (cf. Josephus, Ἀβενήριγος), the former is supported by the easy interpretation 'Nergal is my Father' (cf. Abijah), and the triangular form of B on the Avroman Parchments (*J.H.S.* xxxv. p. 26) makes a mistake easier: though again a form like Iddinna-nabu, 'the gift of Nebo,' gives a possible sense to the second reading: neither seems connected with the name on Pl. XLIV. II, 12 that Lidzbarski plausibly reads Ibignai. The other names of the dynasty look rather Iranian.

In the true Iranian region Mr. Hill first discusses the coins of Andragoras and the related coins and ring from the Oxus treasure with Uḫṣu: he has convinced himself of their genuineness and puts them round about 300 B.C. in N. Persia. For the coinages of Persis (Pl. XXVIII.-XXXVII. 1, 250 B.C.-A.D. 230) and Elymais (Pl. XXXVIII.-XLII.) he

mostly follows Colonel Allotte de la Fuÿe. They remind us that the Parthian Empire was only the greatest of the Iranian kingdoms.

But the chief importance of all these coins is not so much historical or strictly numismatic as epigraphic, as aids to the study of the dark ages of Semitic writing. By them we can trace the changes in Aramaic letters from the clear forms of Mazaeus till they merge into Protohebrew in Persis, into Mandaeic in Characene, into something not unlike Estrangelo in Edessa and till in Nabatean a few forms are on their way to Kufic. The Himyaritic, the ancestor of Ethiopic, is clear enough save for its habit of making monograms: the Aramaic is less unfamiliar, but in these later alphabets several letters are like 7 and others like I, so conjecture would be unrestrained were it not for the severely critical spirit in which Mr. Hill takes the proposals of former scholars and nearly always produces an acceptable result.

Mr. Hill has given an excellent table to the degraded script of Persis. It would have been a help to the mere classic who wishes to study the coins intelligently, if the author had given the same to all the others: it is laborious to construct tables for oneself and those published are rather out of our beat. Also it would have been helpful if the coin-legends discussed in the Introduction could have been repeated in its text instead of being given only in the actual catalogue.

Six supplementary plates, giving room for nearly a hundred coins, include so many of the important specimens belonging to other collections, that the volume almost counts as a *Corpus Numorum* within its limits. It is a most solid contribution to the history of the Nearer East from Alexander to Ardashir.

E. H. M.

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**The Legacy of Greece.** Edited by R. W. LIVINGSTONE. Pp. 424. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921. 7s. 6d.

The idea of this work is a happy and a timely one: a statement of what Greece has taught and can still teach the modern world. The writers describe the great and manifold achievements of a civilisation which owed comparatively little to its predecessors or its contemporaries; and they argue that the study of that civilisation has a special value for the world of to-day; since Greece is the source from which most of the ideas which constitute our modern culture are directly or indirectly derived, and if we would understand these ideas thoroughly we must investigate them at the source. In the words of the Dean of St. Paul's, our civilisation is 'a river which has received affluents from every side; but its head waters are Greek.'

Prof. Murray speaks of the straightforwardness, sanity and distinction of the Greek genius in an introductory essay which is a model of suavity. Dr. Inge, in his essay on religion, is not concerned with Hesiod and Æschylus, with Zeus, Dionysus and Apollo, but with the Christian Church, the dogma and organisation of which he shows to be rooted in Hellenism: he lays more stress than any of his fellow-contributors on the continuity of Western culture from Greek times to the present, and the eccentricity of his attitude may be forgiven him on that account. Prof. Burnet traces the development of Greek philosophical speculation, and maintains that our philosophers may learn from the Greeks to take a broader and humaner view of their task. The chapters contributed by Sir Thomas Heath, Dr. Charles Singer, and Prof. D'Arcy Thompson provide the best short account of Greek science in English and form one of the most valuable portions of the book. Dr. Singer writes so genially that it seems pedantic to point out that the picture on p. 266 is an Attic work of about 480-470 B.C., not an Ionian of about 400.

From this point onwards the chapters are less narratory and more reflective: the main facts about Greek literature, history and art being taken as known. Mr. Livingstone's essay on Greek literature follows the excellent precedent set by himself in his previous treatments of the subject. I wonder whether the lover of English literature might not accuse him of a certain unfairness. Unless we read Mr. Livingstone very closely, we may be inclined to say that he pays too much attention to the literature of the nineteenth

and twentieth centuries, which is after all only one phase of our literature; that he has a habit of placing the worst English verses he can find (pp. 264-266) beside the best Greek verses, and bidding us observe the superiority of the Greek; as if there were no bad or mediocre verses in Greek literature, whereas the lines quoted on p. 282 are a good example of the epic style turned somewhat blowsy; and that he is overstating his case when he maintains that such directness of expression as we find in the Homeric farewell of Hector can hardly be paralleled in our literature; since we can point to the Farewell of Launcelot and Guenever in Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* and to hundreds of other passages in the same book. The answer to these objections would be that Mr. Livingstone is especially concerned, in this essay, with dangers which beset us at present and to which we have often been prone in the past; that while simplicity, and moving simplicity, is a common quality, found even in Gipsy and Blackfellow tales, Greek literature is characterised by a union of simplicity with elaborate complexity through a strong sense of style and form; that although this union appears in our best writers as well as in Greece, all our best writers are products of a civilisation which is a branch of the classical, and nearly all of them have been directly, consciously and profoundly affected by classical literature.

Mr. Toynbee frightens us a little when he announces his intention of treating the history of ancient Greece as a work of art, or more precisely as a tragedy in five acts; but he treads the wire so deftly that we soon lay our fear aside. Mr. Zimmern discourses on the political thought of Greece with all the stops out, paints a richly coloured picture of the Greek citizen, who 'brought to politics the best of Conservatism, together with the best of Radicalism,' and then sets to work on a vaster canvas, where against a background of contorted personifications a baroque Thucydides is submitted to apotheosis. Prof. Gardner describes the Lamps of Greek Art, eight in number. I am not sure if he will win Greece many friends by belittling other artistic periods—Egyptian, Gothic, post-Renaissance—or by such challengeable statements as that the Greek athletes and spectators thought more of form (he means style) than the modern, or that 'among the most notable achievements of chemistry are poison-gases.' The notion of comparing the Vatican Demosthenes with Barnard's underrated Lincoln was a good one; but the Demosthenes should have been given his true hands; and the argument from photographs would be better away. The Heaulmière is hardly comparable with the Conservatori Shepherdess: especially as the head of the shepherdess is by an Italian sculptor of about 1870.

The book concludes with a spirited account of Greek architecture by Sir Reginald Blomfield.

The editor describes the book as the first of its kind in English. Zielinski's magnificent defence of classical studies has long been available in an English translation; but the plan of the present work is different. Its great interest and value will be clear, I think, from what I have said. Every Hellenist will find much in it which he did not know or had not thought of. It is not addressed, however, to Hellenists only, or perhaps mainly, but to a wider circle of educated and critical readers; and that is why I have signalled certain exaggerations which I regard as tactical errors.

J. D. B.

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EDITORIAL NOTE.—In the notice of Mr. A. J. Reinach's *Recueil Milliet*, published in the last number of this journal (vol. xli. page 300. line 1), *experiment* should be read for *experiment*. The editors apologise for this misprint, which was introduced after the proofs had been corrected. The reviewer is therefore not responsible for it.



BRITISH MUSEUM.

TWO HEADS OF ASKLEPIOS



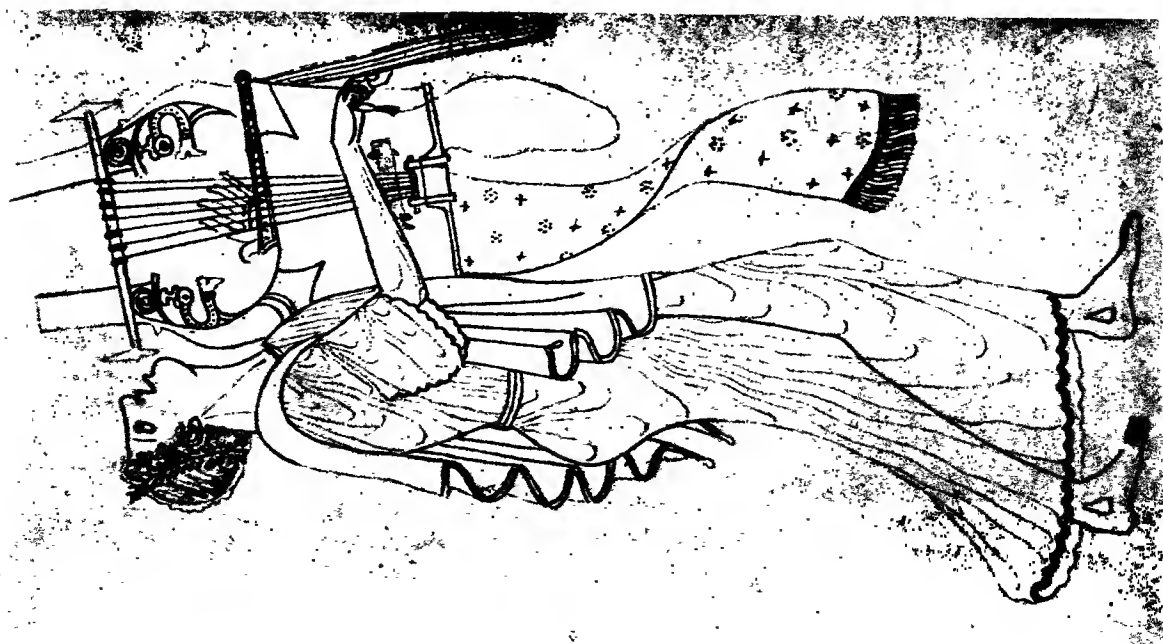
ALEXANDRIA.







AMPHORA



NEW YORK, HEARST COLLECTION





AMPHORA OF PANATHENAIC SHAPE





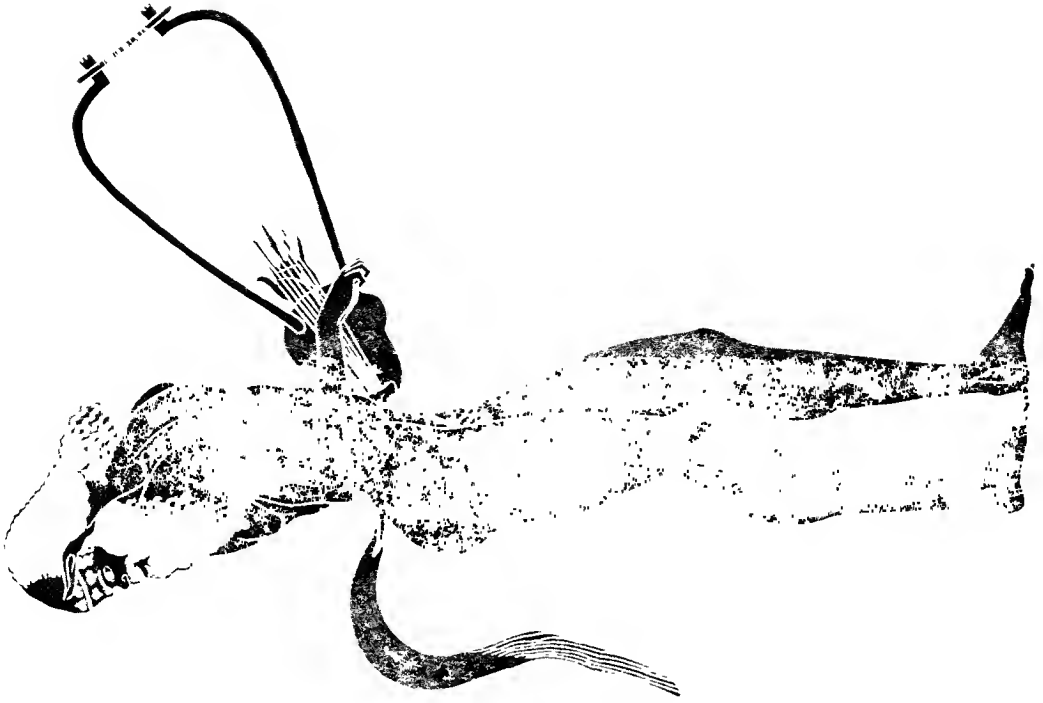
2. MUNICH, 2819

AMPHORAE OF PANATHENAIC SHAPE



MUNICH, 2810





AMPHORA OF PANATHENAIC SHAPE

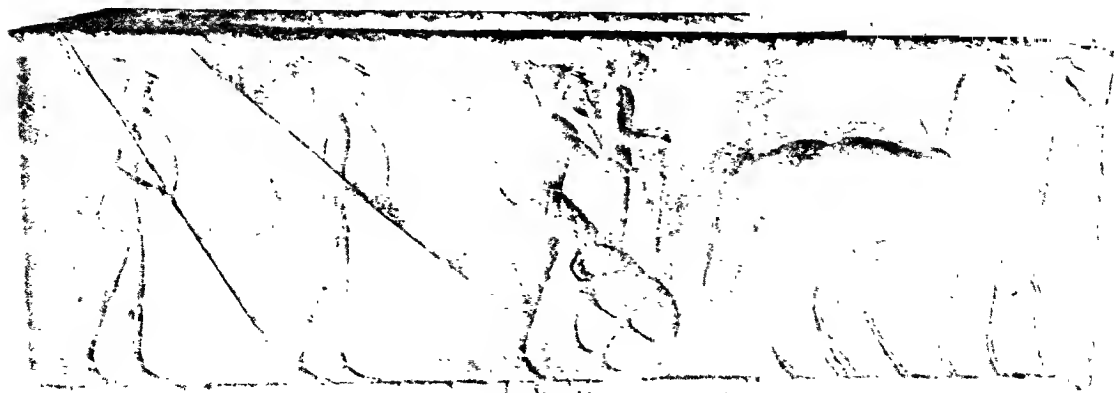
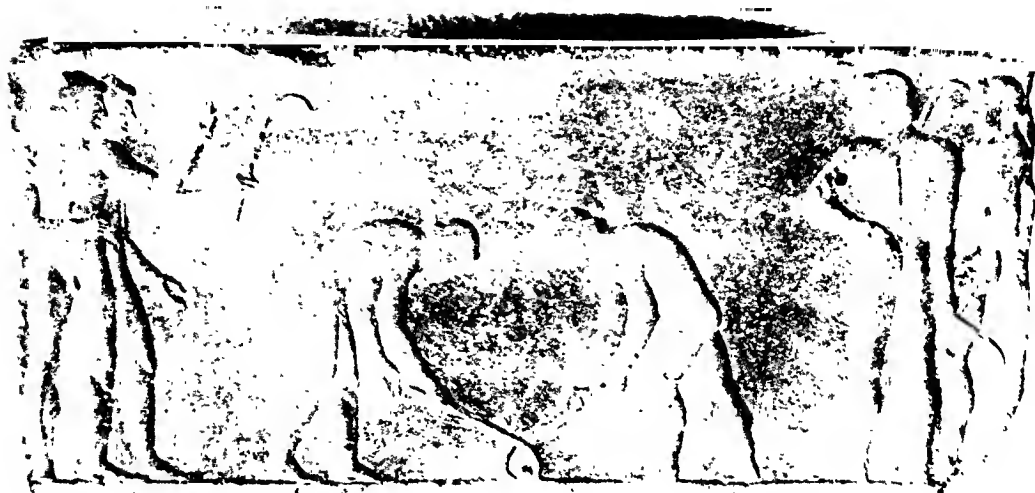
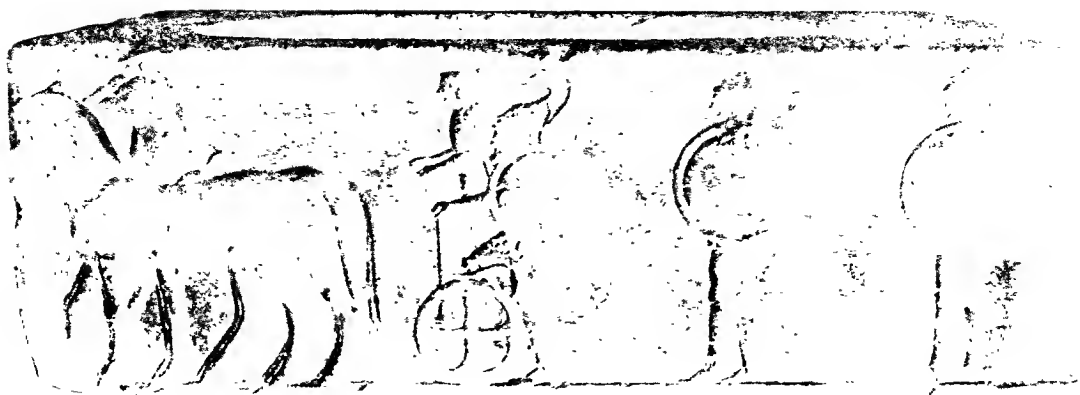






RELIEFS ON MARBLE BASIS





RELIEFS ON MARBLE BASIS



## THE BRITISH ACADEMY

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### CROMER GREEK PRIZE

WITH the view of maintaining and encouraging the study of Greek, particularly among the young, in the national interest, the late Lord Cromer founded an Annual Prize, to be administered by the British Academy, for the best Essay on any subject connected with the language, history, art, literature, or philosophy of Ancient Greece.

The Prize, which is ordinarily a sum of £40, is awarded annually in March, under the following Rules:—

1. Competition is open to all British subjects of either sex who will be under twenty-six years of age on 31 December preceding the award.

2. Any such person desirous of competing must send in to the Secretary of the British Academy on or before 1 June of the year preceding the award the title of the subject proposed by him or her. The Academy may approve (with or without modification) or disapprove the subject; their decision will be intimated to the competitor as soon as possible.

3. Preference will be given, in approval of subjects proposed, to those which deal with aspects of the Greek genius and civilization of large and permanent significance over those which are of a minute or highly technical character.

4. Any Essay already published, or already in competition for another prize of the same nature, will be inadmissible. A candidate to whom the Prize has been awarded will not be eligible to compete for it again. But an Essay which has not received the Prize may be submitted again (with or without alteration) in a future year so long as the writer remains eligible under Rule 1.

5. Essays of which the subject has been approved must be sent in to the Secretary of the Academy on or before 31 December. They must be typed (or, if the author prefers, printed), and should have a note attached stating the main sources of information used.

6. It is recommended that the Essays should not exceed 20,000 words, exclusive of notes. Notes should not run to an excessive length.

7. The author of the Essay to which the Prize is awarded will be expected to publish it (within a reasonable time, and after any necessary revision), either separately, or in the Journals or Transactions of a Society approved by the Academy, or among the Transactions of the Academy.

The Secretary of the Academy will supply on application, to any person qualified and desirous to compete, a list of some typical subjects, for general guidance only, and without any suggestion that one or another of these subjects should be chosen, or that preference will be given to them over any other subject of a suitable nature.

Communications should be addressed to The Secretary of the British Academy, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London, W.

## The Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.

19, BLOOMSBURY SQUARE, LONDON, W.C. 1

President: G. MACDONALD, C.B., LL.D., F.B.A.

The Society embraces the history, art and archaeology of Rome, Italy and the Roman Empire, down to about A.D. 700.

In connexion with the Hellenic Society, the Roman Society maintains a joint library of Greek and Roman art, archaeology and history, and a collection of lantern slides and photographs. Members are entitled to borrow books and slides, and these can be sent through the post.

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Annual Subscription one guinea. Life membership composition for persons over fifty years of age ten guineas for others fifteen guineas. There is at present no entrance fee.

Persons desirous of joining the Society are asked to communicate with the Secretary at Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

THE JOURNAL OF ROMAN STUDIES (11 x 7½ inches) is published by the Society in half-yearly parts, and sent post free to all members. Vols. I.-IX. include papers by English, American, Danish, Russian, French, and Italian scholars, and, amongst others:—

Anderson, J. G. C. Festivals of Mén A-skaēnos.  
Ashby, Thomas Roman Malta.  
Ashby, Thomas. The Bodleian MS. of Pirro Ligorio.  
Baguani, Gilbert. The Subterranean Basilica at Porta Maggiore.  
Boni, Comm. Recent discoveries on the Palatine Hill.  
Bury, J. B. Justa Grata Honoria.  
Calder, W. M. Roman Inscriptions in Asia Minor.  
Cheesman, G. L. The family of the Caristanni.  
Curlie, J. Roman and Native remains in Caledonia.  
Dessau, Prof. A Roman Senator under Domitian and Trajan.  
Esdaile, Mrs. A statue in the Palazzo Barberini.  
Hardy, E. G. Notable Iudicia Populi on Capital Charges.  
Haverfield, F. Roman London.  
Haverfield, F. and Stuart Jones, H. Romano-British Art.  
Macdonald, G. The Corbridge Gold Coins.

Macdonald, G. The Agricola Occupation of North Britain.  
Mackail, J. W. Virgil and Roman Studies.  
Ramsay, Sir W. M. Colonia Caesarea.  
Reid, Prof. J. S. Roman Public Law.  
Reid, Prof. J. S. Human Sacrifices at Rome.  
Reid, Prof. J. S. Problems of the Second Punic War.  
Reinach, Salomon. A Bronze Statuette of Zeus.  
Rushforth, G. McN. Magister Gregorius de Mirabilibus Urbis Romae.  
Strong, Mrs. S. A. The Archaeological Exhibition of 1911 at Rome.  
Van Buren, A. W. Varro's Aviary at Casinum.  
Van Buren, A. W. The Ara Pacis Augustae.  
Warde Fowler, W. The original meaning of the word 'Sacer.'  
Warde Fowler, W. 'Mundus Pater.'  
Wheeler, R. E. Mortimer. Roman Colchester.

Vol. X. is in active preparation.

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## THE INTERPRETATION OF GREEK MUSIC

### I. INTONATION IN GENERAL

*Inadequacy of our Theory.* To whoever may desire to understand the music of ancient Greece, I would recommend that he put away from his mind that sense of superiority which our progress in counterpoint, harmony, form and orchestration has engendered, and devote his attention to the shortcomings of our music, for they relate to those very matters concerning which Greek music has the most to teach us.

Our music has come down to us from remote ages through the Greek system. The first stage in its progress was marked by the collection of a multiplicity of Harmonies and modes, not unlike those upon which the classical music of India is based. Of the diatonic scales, some were *soft*, employing septimal or soft intervals, and others were *hard*, employing semi-tones, and major and minor tones, differing among themselves in the order in which these intervals were strung together. The Greeks may have added to this collection. Their chief contributions to musical progress, however, were instrumental heterophony and the science of intervals. They were driven to the use of the former by the tyranny of the 'metrici.' Thus the long and short of Greek poetry led indirectly to the harmonic system of music, which is one of the main achievements of European civilisation. The foundations of musical science were laid by Pythagoras. The results of his labours were soon apparent in the classification of the enormous number of scales in use, the adoption of a musical notation based upon an intricate system of correlated keys, and the art of modulation. In the break-up of Roman and Greek civilisation, the subtle distinctions between the various Harmonies were the first features of the music to go under. Curiously enough, the innovations introduced by the master minds of Greece survived in the art of modulation, and the contrapuntal tradition. A new series of keys was invented. This degenerated, under the growing influence of keyed instruments, and the craze for unlimited modulation, into the musical freak of equal temperament, in which a scale, grotesquely out of focus, is set up as a standard and basis of theory. Players on the pianoforte and organ perform tempered music in tempered tones to admiring audiences. Orchestras are given tempered music to play, and are expected to find out for themselves without the guidance of an adequate theory, how to bring it into focus. Naturally enough, the Pythagorean or ditonal scale, which employs major tones only, and is for that reason the nearest thing in the hard diatonic to equal temperament, has an immense vogue. It is perhaps the ugliest scale that was ever put



together. The Indians and Greeks combined a ditonal tetrachord, for the sake of the contrast, with some other form of diatonic. There is no evidence<sup>1</sup> that they ever sang or played, as we do, in the ditonal scale. I think that we too would tire of it if it were not wrapped up in various ways and disguised by much modulation.

The theory, notation and terminology of temperament are unequal to the task of interpreting the Greek keys and describing the Greek Harmonies. I propose to name the intervals with which real music is concerned in the simplest terms possible, and to make slight alterations in the accidentals of the staff notation. The theory of real music, treated from the standpoint of the musician, is a new science.

*Intervals.* Of the names of intervals in the following table, some are new, such as those which include the appellation 'soft,' and the terms used to differentiate the varieties of the semitone. I have seen the terms false fifth and false fourth applied, quite unnecessarily, to the diminished fifth and augmented fourth. As I use them, they point out a vital distinction. The 'soft' intervals are derived from septimal harmony, that is, directly or indirectly, from the seventh partial tone. The others can all be got from different combinations of the first six partial tones and the intervals formed by them. Thus the fourth from the fifth gives the major tone ( $\frac{3}{2} \div \frac{4}{3} = \frac{9}{8}$ ). The fourth less the major third is the semitone ( $\frac{4}{3} \div \frac{5}{4} = \frac{16}{15}$ ). The major tone less the semitone is the residual semitone ( $\frac{9}{8} \div \frac{16}{15} = \frac{135}{128}$ ). The major third less the major tone is the minor tone ( $\frac{5}{4} \div \frac{9}{8} = \frac{10}{9}$ ); and the minor tone less the semitone is the small residual semitone ( $\frac{10}{9} \div \frac{16}{15} = \frac{25}{24}$ ). The rough minor third, one of the most important intervals in music, contains a minor tone and a semitone ( $\frac{10}{9} \times \frac{16}{15} = \frac{32}{27}$ ). If the major tone be subtracted from it, the diminished semitone or λεῖμμα will result ( $\frac{32}{27} \div \frac{9}{8} = \frac{256}{243}$ ).

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<sup>1</sup> The use of the ditonal numbers for the notes of the Lydian key, by late and ignorant authors (such as 'Anonymus'), is no evidence, in my opinion. Want of

space prevents my doing more than presenting a bald outline of the views I hold regarding the history of music.

TABLE OF INTERVALS FROM THE FIFTH TO THE SEMITONE

Interval.	Ratio.	Content in cents to the nearest integer.	Interval.	Ratio.	Content in cents to the nearest integer.
1. Fifth . . . . .	$\frac{3}{2}$	702	13. Soft tone . . . . .	$\frac{8}{7}$	231
2. False fifth . . . . .	$\frac{40}{27}$	680	14. Major tone . . . . .	$\frac{9}{8}$	204
3. Diminished fifth . . . . .	$\frac{64}{45}$	610	15. Minor tone . . . . .	$\frac{10}{9}$	182
4. Augmented fourth . . . . .	$\frac{45}{32}$	590	16. Semitone . . . . .	$\frac{16}{15}$	112
5. False fourth . . . . .	$\frac{27}{20}$	520	17. Residual semitone . . . . .	$\frac{135}{128}$	92
6. Fourth . . . . .	$\frac{4}{3}$	498	18. Diminished semitone . . . . .	$\frac{256}{243}$	90
7. Soft ditone . . . . .	$\frac{9}{7}$	435	19. Soft semitone . . . . .	$\frac{21}{20}$	85
8. Ditone . . . . .	$\frac{81}{64}$	408	20. Small residual semitone . . . . .	$\frac{25}{24}$	70
9. Major third . . . . .	$\frac{5}{4}$	386	21. Small soft semitone . . . . .	$\frac{28}{27}$	63
10. Minor third . . . . .	$\frac{6}{5}$	316			
11. Rough minor third . . . . .	$\frac{32}{27}$	294			
12. Soft minor third . . . . .	$\frac{7}{6}$	267			

To these may be added the *simple quarter-tone* or comma ( $\frac{81}{80}$ ; cents 22).

This interval results when the minor tone is subtracted from the major tone, or the rough minor third from the minor third, or the diminished semitone from the semitone. There are other varieties of 'quarter-tone,' but their importance is not such as to demand a special terminology. The quarter-tone in general may be defined as the remainder when one variety of semitone is subtracted from another. I propose also to use the term *enharmonic* in a special sense. If two notes differ in pitch by a simple quarter-tone I shall call the lower note the 'enharmonic' of the higher note. Thus, if the upper note in the interval of the fifth be replaced by its enharmonic, the false fifth will result.

*Accidentals: Hard.* I take  $c\sharp$  as the enharmonic of  $c\flat$ , and  $c\flat$  as the enharmonic of  $c\sharp$ . I distinguish the sharps in the same manner, using the signs  $\sharp$ ,  $\sharp$ ,  $\sharp$ , and for the flats I take  $\flat$ ,  $\flat$  and  $\flat$ . In the matter of tuning, pitch C will be  $c''\flat$ . The table which follows shows how the notes are connected by strings of just fifths: separate signs for the different octaves are omitted, being unnecessary.

<sup>2</sup> Intervals 7 to 9 are all varieties of the major third.

## ENHARMONIC PROGRESSION

1st string.	2nd string.	3rd string	4th string.
a $\sharp\sharp$	a $\sharp\sharp$		
d $\sharp\sharp$	d $\sharp\sharp$		
g $\sharp\sharp$	g $\sharp\sharp$		
c $\sharp\sharp$	c $\sharp\sharp$		
f $\sharp\sharp$	f $\sharp\sharp$	f $\sharp\sharp$	
	b $\natural$	b $\natural$	
	e $\natural$	e $\natural$	
	a $\natural$	a $\natural$	
	d $\natural$	d $\natural$	
	g $\natural$	g $\natural$	g $\natural$
	c $\natural$	c $\natural$	c $\natural$
	f $\natural$	f $\natural$	f $\natural$
	b $\flat$	b $\flat$	b $\flat$
	e $\flat$	e $\flat$	e $\flat$
	a $\flat$	a $\flat$	a $\flat$
		d $\flat$	d $\flat$
		g $\flat$	g $\flat$
		c $\flat$	c $\flat$
		f $\flat$	f $\flat$

The ditonal scale, being built up from fifths only, will take its notes from one and the same string. Hence notes of the same string will give the following intervals,—the fifth, fourth, ditone, rough minor third, major tone, diminished semitone. If the semitone or minor third above a given note be required, it will be found in the next higher string; the major third will be found in the next lower string. The note which is a minor tone above a given note also belongs to the next lower string. It may be observed that the low sharps ( $\sharp\sharp$ ) belong to the first string, the low naturals ( $\natural$ ) to the second, and the low flats ( $\flat$ ) to the third; the ordinary sharps ( $\sharp$ ) belong to the second, the ordinary naturals ( $\natural$ ) to the third, and the ordinary flats ( $\flat$ ) to the fourth. We can manage to dispense with high flats, but will on some rare occasions require three extra low flats ( $\flat\flat\flat$ ). I think the following progression by semitones is worth the space it occupies, as it is easily memorised, and when grasped makes the whole system clear. The skhismatic progression is indispensable. The skhisma is the difference (approximately 2 cents) between the major third, and the nearest approach to that interval to be got from a string of fifths.

$$386 - (5 \times 1200 - 8 \times 702) = 386 - 384 = 2.$$

PROGRESSION BY THE JUST SEMITONE ( $\frac{16}{15}$ )<sup>3</sup>*Strings*

1.	2.	3.	4.
		f $\sharp$	g $\sharp$
	a $\sharp$	b $\sharp$	c $\sharp$
	d $\sharp$	e $\sharp$	f $\sharp$
	g $\sharp$	a $\sharp$	b $\flat$
	c $\sharp$	d $\sharp$	e $\flat$
	f $\sharp$	g $\sharp$	a $\flat$
a $\sharp$	b $\flat$	c $\sharp$	d $\flat$
d $\sharp$	e $\flat$	f $\sharp$	g $\flat$
g $\sharp$	a $\flat$	b $\flat$	c $\flat$
c $\sharp$	d $\flat$	e $\flat$	f $\flat$
f $\sharp$	g $\flat$	a $\flat$	
	c $\flat$	d $\flat$	
	f $\flat$	g $\flat$	
	b $\flat$	c $\flat$	
	e $\flat$	f $\flat$	

## PROGRESSION BY THE SKHISMA

String.

1. a  $\sharp$  d  $\sharp$  g  $\sharp$  c  $\sharp$  f  $\sharp$  b  $\flat$  e  $\flat$  a  $\flat$  d  $\flat$  g  $\flat$  c  $\flat$  f  $\flat$  b  $\flat$  e  $\flat$  a  $\flat$
2. a  $\sharp$  d  $\sharp$  g  $\sharp$  c  $\sharp$  f  $\sharp$  b  $\flat$  e  $\flat$  a  $\flat$  d  $\flat$  g  $\flat$  c  $\flat$  f  $\flat$  b  $\flat$  e  $\flat$  a  $\flat$
3. f  $\sharp$  b  $\flat$  e  $\flat$  a  $\flat$  d  $\flat$  g  $\flat$  c  $\flat$  f  $\flat$  b  $\flat$  e  $\flat$  a  $\flat$  d  $\flat$  g  $\flat$  c  $\flat$  f  $\flat$  b  $\flat$  e  $\flat$  a  $\flat$
4. g  $\flat$  c  $\flat$  f  $\flat$

The last table teaches us that, for all practical purposes, a high sharp is equivalent to an ordinary flat, an ordinary sharp to a low flat, and a low sharp to an extra low flat.

*Accidentals : Soft.* The hard minor seventh, a discordant interval, such as c  $\sharp$  to b  $\flat$ , or g  $\sharp$  to f  $\flat$ , is the octave less the major tone ( $\frac{2}{1} \div \frac{9}{8} = \frac{16}{9}$ ; cents 996). When this interval is flattened to a certain point, it is resolved into a rich soft semi-consonance, without beats, the soft minor seventh,  $\frac{7}{4}$ , cents 969. In the notation, we shall mark the relationship between these intervals by a similarity of sign, and draw attention to the septimal origin of the soft minor seventh by using the figure 7. The soft counterpart of b  $\flat$  7, note takes the lower variety of accidental.

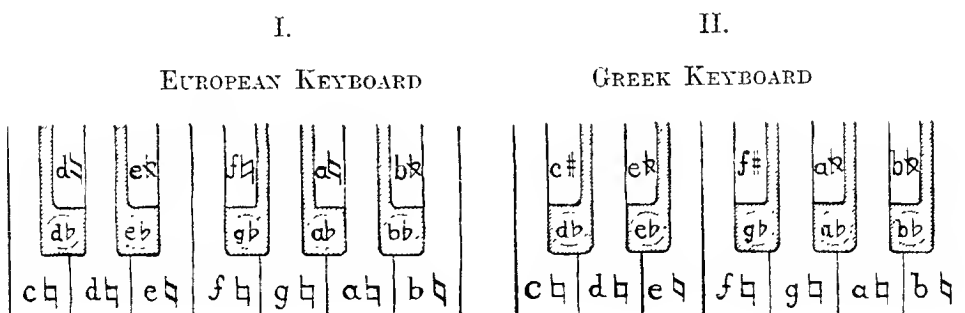
<sup>3</sup> A low sharp is here followed by a low natural, a low natural by a low flat, and so on. If both are naturals or flats, the lower

note takes the lower variety of accidental. The varieties of hard diatonic are therefore easily described.

of  $b\flat$ ,  $b\flat7$ , of  $d\flat$ ,  $d\flat7$ , of  $f\sharp$ ,  $f\sharp7$ . In the chord of the seventh  $g\flat b\flat d\flat f\flat$ , the root, fifth and seventh belong to the same string. It is therefore a matter of extreme simplicity to discover a note which is a soft tone below, or a soft minor third above a given note. For example, a  $\flat7$  is a soft minor third above  $f\flat$ , and  $d\flat7$  a soft minor third above  $b\flat$ .

*Suggestions for a Keyboard.* The niceties of intonation with which we have to deal need not arouse any misgiving. One need not have a phenomenally good ear to learn to detect major tones, minor tones and soft intervals. I have known an uneducated Indian girl pick up in a very short time the soft intervals of some of the rarer Indian *rāgas*, and sing them with accuracy and without the slightest hesitation. When a European audience rewards a singer or soloist on the violin or 'cello with rapturous applause because of the exquisite *feeling* he has shown, the secret of his success is to be discovered in the felicity with which he has (perhaps unconsciously) managed his quarter-tones and other intonational nuances.<sup>4</sup> Gifted musicians constantly employ these shades of meaning. My own limited experience further leads me to the opinion that the more highly educated and trained the performer the less sense of harmony does he exhibit.

The best way to train the ear to detect real intervals is to have an American organ constructed with seventeen notes to the octave, to arrange suitable music for it, and to familiarise one's self with different scales. I suggest the following keyboards and tuning, the one on the left for European music, and the one on the right to render the extant specimens of Greek music accurately intoned.



*The extra keys may be coloured red : they should be raised above the black keys and should be placed sufficiently far back to allow of easy access to the black keys. It is possible to place seventeen vibrators with their action side by side without widening the octave unduly. These keyboards will present no great difficulty to the player.*

<sup>4</sup> I have often heard really musical soloists indulge in septimal harmony. In Swiss jodeling for two voices, I have heard it in the lower part.

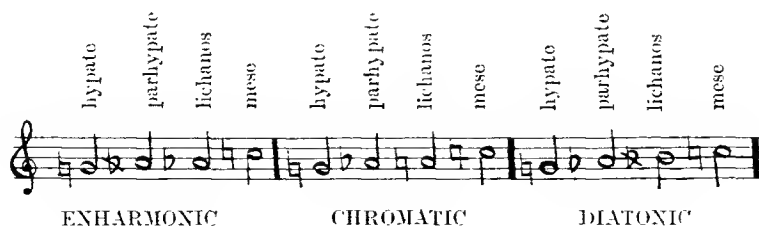
## TUNING METHOD (WITHOUT BEATS)

	I.	II.
Fifths from c ♮	(1) up g ♮-d ♮ a ♮. (2) down f ♮-b ♮ e ♮.	(1) up g ♮-d ♮ a ♮. (2) down f ♮-b ♮ e ♮ a ♮.
Major thirds from c ♮	(1) up e ♮. (2) down a ♮.	(1) up e ♮. (2) down a ♮.
Fifths from a ♮	(1) up e ♮-b ♮ f ♮. (2) down d ♮-g ♮ a ♮.	(1) up e ♮-b ♮ f ♮. (2) down d ♮-g ♮ a ♮.
Fifths from c ♮	(1) up b ♮. (2) down a ♮-d ♮.	up b ♮-f ♮ c ♮.

*The owner should learn to tune the instrument himself. Vibrators will not keep in tune for long; and in real music everything depends upon accuracy.*

## II. GREEK INTONATION

*Preliminary.* No one can tackle the Greek notation with any chance of success unless he makes a preparatory study of the structure of scales. Pythagoras was the father of this branch of science. Other philosophers could devise no better method than to lump together all the scales they knew and guess what equal division of the octave might produce all the notes required. This method was followed in ancient India. The number guessed was 22. The octave was conceived of as consisting of 22 śrutis, of which 4 went to the major tone, 3 to the minor tone and 2 to the just semitone. I mention this fact as I find the śruti figures convenient for the brief description of true diatonic scales. In Greece, musical philosophers thought the tetrachord the most useful instrument for the classification of scales.<sup>5</sup> They divided their tetrachords into three genera, the enharmonic, chromatic and diatonic. Aristoxenos was a prolific writer who has been extensively quoted by later authors. He scorned the application of numbers to music.<sup>6</sup> He preferred his own slipshod method of guesswork. Like the rest of the Greeks he thought in terms of the E mode. In order that what he says on the subject of the three genera may be better understood, I give the typical tetrachords in staff notation—



<sup>5</sup> A scale might take tetrachord X followed by tetrachord Y. Thus two tetrachords might explain four scales, namely,

xx, yy, xy, yx.

<sup>6</sup> Dr. Macran's *Harmonics of Aristoxenos*, Oxford, 1902, p. 189.

The two intervals between the hypate and the lichanos were termed the pyknon; the hypate was the barypyknon, the parhypate the mesopyknon, and the lichanos the oxypyknon. The hypate and mese were *φθόγγοι ἐστῶτες* or invariable tones and the parhypate and lichanos *κινούμενοι*, that is of course having regard to the construction of tetrachords. Aristoxenos gives one species of enharmonic, three chromatic, namely syntono-, hemiolio-, and malako-chromatic, and two diatonic, the soft, malako-diatonic, and the hard, syntono-diatonic. He tells us that the enharmonic *pyknon* contains two enharmonic dieses. He estimates elsewhere that the enharmonic diesis amounts to one fourth of the difference between the fifth and fourth.<sup>7</sup> The enharmonic pyknon gives a lichanos a half tone above the hypate. He describes no other enharmonic tetrachord. He lays down that the lowest chromatic lichanos is one-sixth of a tone higher than the enharmonic. He also informs us that the tendency in his time was to degrade the enharmonic into a variety of the chromatic by widening the *pyknon* (*Harmonic*, i. 25). Ptolemy (*Harmonic*, i. 14) describes a number of tetrachords by relative string lengths. The enharmonic he gives may be represented thus  $g \frac{16}{15}, a \frac{16}{15}, b, c \frac{16}{15}$ . In such a scale, melody would naturally fall into some such figure as  $g \frac{16}{15}, a \frac{16}{15}, c \frac{16}{15}, a \frac{16}{15}, g \frac{16}{15}$ , the intervals being semitone ( $\frac{16}{15}$ ), major third ( $\frac{5}{4}$ ), soft ditone ( $\frac{9}{7}$ ) small soft semitone ( $\frac{27}{28}$ ). I have not space to discuss the rest of Ptolemy's scales. The inference to be drawn is that the enharmonic *pyknon* consisted of two intervals, semitone, quarter-tone,<sup>8</sup> in that order, amounting together to a just semitone: the chromatic contained two semitones, and the diatonic a semitone followed by a tone.

The Diatonic falls into two broad classes, the soft, which employs septimal harmony, and the hard. The latter includes the ditonal and the True Diatonic. The True Diatonic is made up of three major tones, two minor tones and two just semitones. There are five varieties in common use in our own music. They were also contained in the Greek system of keys, as I shall show. Other forms of true diatonic scale are possible. As we think mostly in terms of the major scale, I give the five scales in that form. In order that the scales may be the better compared on the first of the two organs above described, I give two examples of each. The position of the false fourth or fifth, which is an important factor in the harmony, is shown by brackets, and the *gruti* figures are given below each scale.

<sup>7</sup> This is the major tone. The diesis of Aristoxenos was a conception of no practical value.

<sup>8</sup> According to the classification herein followed. 'Quarter-tone' is here used in its general sense.

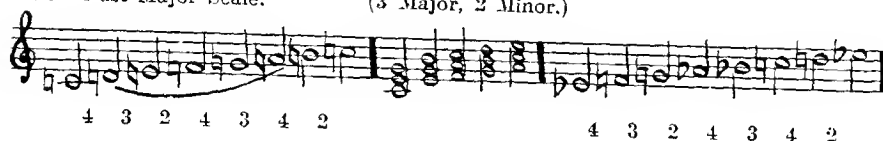
## TRUE DIATONIC SCALES

## COMMON CHORDS

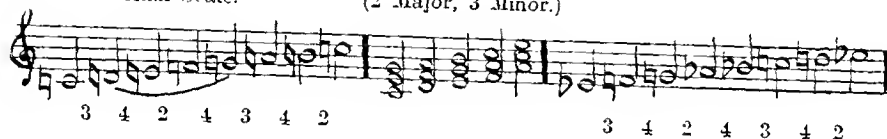
## I. Ionian Scale. (2 Major, 1 Minor.)



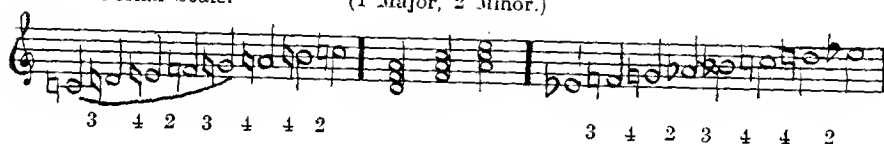
## II. Just Major Scale. (3 Major, 2 Minor.)



## III. Aeolian Scale. (2 Major, 3 Minor.)



## IV. Dorian Scale. (1 Major, 2 Minor.)



## V. Scale of Raga Kanada (Indian). (1 Major, 1 Minor.)



In our music, diatonic passages of any length rarely remain faithful to one form of scale. Enharmonic changes are the rule rather than the exception. An example of Scale I is the opening theme of Tschaiikowsky's *Seasons—July*; of Scale II, the first theme of Beethoven's *Pastoral Symphony*; of Scale III, the main theme of the *Andante* from the fifth *Symphony*. Our Minor (descending melodic form) is generally in Scale III. IV and V are found in passing modulations, more especially the former. The fifth *Symphony* of Beethoven—first phrase in octaves—seems to me, as played, very like No. V, A mode.

I conclude this subsection with a note on the subject of modes. The C mode may be taken in Scales I, II, or III. IV is used when a passing modulation is made into the supertonic minor. I and IV suit the D mode, both fourth and fifth coming out true, but I is preferable as IV gives what is very little else than a variety of the minor mode. The oriental D mode is almost always in Scale I.



The *E* mode may be taken in II, III, or IV; its ethos varies from sweetness to strength in that order. The same remark applies to the *A* mode which may be taken in Scales II, III, IV, or V. Scale V gives an extremely rugged and manly scale, very popular in India. The *G* mode is best in Scale I, and the *F* mode in Scale II. The *B* mode is merely a variety of the *E* mode, and need not be discussed separately. In harmonising the modes, if he wishes to preserve their purity, the student must avoid spurious concords. No common chord which contains either a false fifth, or a ditone, or a rough minor third, is permissible. The ditone may be replaced chromatically by the minor third, the rough minor third may be replaced chromatically by the major third, or, in suitable positions, the third of the chord may be omitted. The ditone, or rough minor third, or the corresponding sixths, may occur between passing notes.

*The Introduction of Alypius.* The Introduction of Alypius is the only comprehensive guide to the Greek notation extant. It is a fragment of uncertain date. It purports to exhibit the whole range of keys, that is to say fifteen, in the diatonic and chromatic genera, and six and part of three others in the enharmonic. In the first key, the Lydian, in the chromatic genus, four of the notes which mark the distinction between that genus and the diatonic are crossed out.

The first thing to notice is that the enharmonic, whenever exhibited, is identical with the chromatic. The second is that all the keys in all the genera follow the terminology of the *E* mode. It is the *pyknon* from the hypate to the lichanos in the *E* mode tetrachord which is changed to mark the genus. Nevertheless, the parhypate suffers no change in passing from one genus to another. Alypius has therefore not only confounded the chromatic with the enharmonic,<sup>9</sup> but has likewise, in his enharmonic keys, confounded the parhypate with the lichanos.

Bellermann worked out the order of tones and half tones in the diatonic keys. The question which is still unanswered is—what was the order of major and minor tones? The amazing opinion of Bellermann and Westphal that the Greeks were well acquainted with equal temperament is based upon no evidence beyond a stupid passage from that unscientific writer, Aristoxenos.<sup>10</sup> As regards pitch, Bellermann makes the Lydian key start from D. I prefer C, as it simplifies the notation, and gives a much more comfortable compass to the extant compositions.

The keys are in what was known as the Greater Complete System. The section called the *synemmenon*, which I have enclosed in brackets, served as a modulatory bridge between each key and the next. The Hypolydian key and all the keys between the Lydian and Hyperdorian are of the same pattern. The *parante synemmenon* and *trite diezeugmenon* in these keys are distinguished by different signs, although, at first sight, they seem to stand for the same note. Herein lies the clue to the Harmony. No other scale will fit into the scheme except Scale IV. When that scale is applied to the keys named, the whole notation of the diatonic stands revealed.

<sup>9</sup> See the remarks of Aristoxenos above quoted.

<sup>10</sup> Macran, p. 207.


## THE DIATONIC KEYS

*Lydian—Scale IV—*

Vocal: 7 7 R ϕ C P M I Θ Γ Υ Ζ Ε Υ Θ Ι Μ' Ι'  
 Instr.: F L F C U 7 < V N Z Γ Η Ζ Υ Ε 7 <

*Hyperlydian — Scale IV—*

Equiv



F C C T < V N Z A A T V T T < V N Z

*Hypophrygian — Scale IV —*

3 9 W - 7 F Ω ϕ Υ Π Μ Σ Ρ Μ Ι Θ Γ U  
 E H H E T L Y F L O T C U T < V N Z

*Phrygian — Scale IV —*

— 7 F Ω ϕ Υ Π Μ Λ Η Γ Ι Θ Γ Υ ϕ ⊥ Μ'  
 E Γ ⊥ √ F ⊥ ∅ Γ < > N < V N Z / γ η'

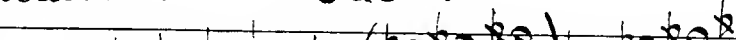
*Hyperphrygian — Scale IV —*

Equivocal

A musical score for the word 'Equivocal'. The notation is on a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The melody consists of a series of eighth and sixteenth notes. Below the staff, the word 'Equivocal' is written in a stylized, blocky font. The letters are arranged in two rows: the first row contains 'Q', 'P', 'M', 'A', 'H', 'G', 'B', 'I', 'U', 'F', 'L', 'M', 'A', 'H', 'G', and the second row contains 'F', 'L', 'O', 'T', 'A', 'N', 'I', 'Z', 'A', 'T', 'O', 'N'. The letters are connected by lines, suggesting a continuous flow or a specific rhythmic pattern.

*Hypodorian — Scale IV —*

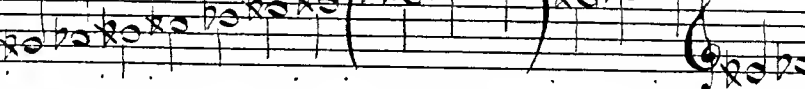
*Hypodorian — Scale IV —*



♭ 3 b И — m ∇ Ω ψ τ π φ τ π m λ η γ  
a ε ω ρ ε ω — 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

*Dorian — Scale IV—*

Dorian — Scale IV —



И — ∇ Ω Ψ Τ Π    Ο Κ Η    Μ Λ Η    Γ Β \* Ι  
Α Ε Ψ Ι Υ Ζ    Κ Λ >    Γ < >    Ν / Α γ

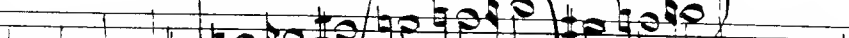
by Skhismatic Transposition —



*Hyperdorian — Scale IV —*

[illegible]

Hypodaeolian—Scale IV modulating into Scale III—

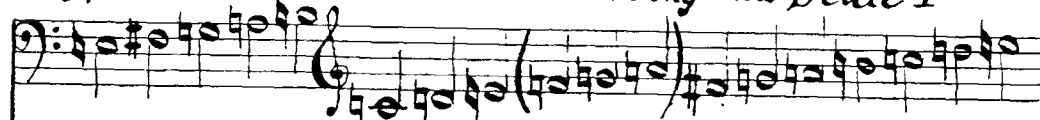

  
 Ш И W H V T X T C O K П O K H Z A X
   
 З Я Ё Э Ч Г Ё Э С К А О К А > Е I A

*Aeolian — Scale III modulating into Scale II —*



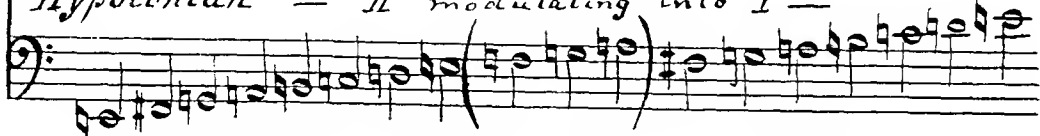
Η ∇ Γ Χ Τ C O K Ι Ζ Α Η Ζ Α \* Θ Ο' Κ'  
 Ε Γ Υ Ϝ C K Λ < Ε \ > Ε \ Α Υ Κ' Λ'

*Hyperaeolian — Scale II modulating into Scale I*



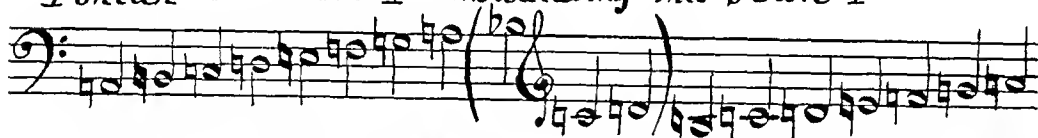
Χ Τ C O K Ι Ζ Α Υ Θ Ο' \* Θ Ο' Κ' Ι' Ζ' Α'  
 Υ Ϝ C K Λ < Ε \ Ζ Υ Κ' Α Υ Κ' Λ' < Ε' \

*Hypoionian — II modulating into I —*



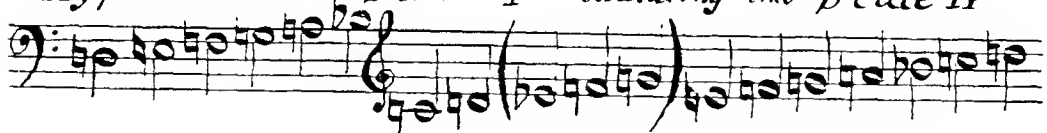
Γ ∪ Ϙ Η Γ Γ Χ ϕ C O T C O K Ι Ζ Α  
 Τ 3 Η Η Ε Γ Υ Ϝ C K Ϝ C K Λ < Ε \

*Ionian — Scale I modulating into Scale V —*



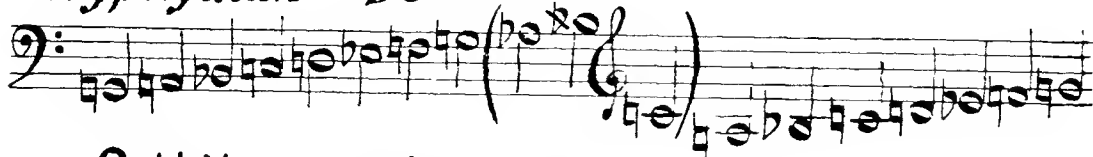
Η Γ Γ Χ ϕ C O Ε Ι Ζ Κ Ι Ζ Α Υ Θ Ο'  
 Η Ε Γ Υ Ϝ C K ∞ < Ε Λ < Ε \ Ζ Υ Κ'

*Hyperionian — Scale V modulating into Scale IV*



Γ Χ ϕ C O Ε Ι Ζ Ε Υ Θ Α Υ Θ Ο' Ε' Ι' Ζ'  
 Γ Υ Ϝ C K ∞ < Ε ∪ Ζ Υ \ Ζ Υ Κ' ∞ < Ε'

*Hypolydian — Scale IV —*



Ϙ Η ∇ Γ Γ Ρ ϕ C Ρ Μ Ι Ο Ε Ι Ζ Ε Υ Θ  
 Η Η Ε Γ Γ Ϝ C O Γ < Κ ∞ < Ε ∪ Ζ Υ

The notation ignores the *skhisma*. No question of temperament is involved, as the Greeks never constructed an instrument to take the whole system of keys. Indeed, some of the keys were never used. I have made the necessary transposition at the most convenient point.

Let us now turn to the so-called chromatic and enharmonic keys. Of these, the Hyperlydian, Hypophrygian, Phrygian, Hyperphrygian and Hypodorian, all of which are in Scale IV, make use of signs which we have already identified. These keys, whether designated chromatic or enharmonic, prove to be built up of tetrachords of the type  $c \flat, d \flat, d \flat, f \flat$ . They are arranged in the order  $c \flat, d \flat, d \flat, f \flat$ , the *parhypate* and *lichanos* having changed places. These are enharmonic and not chromatic tetrachords. The Hyperaeolian and Hypoionian enharmonic and chromatic, which likewise use signs already ascertained, give a chromatic scale, which may be represented thus:—

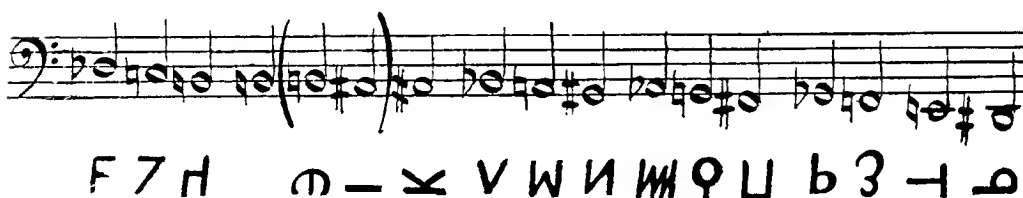
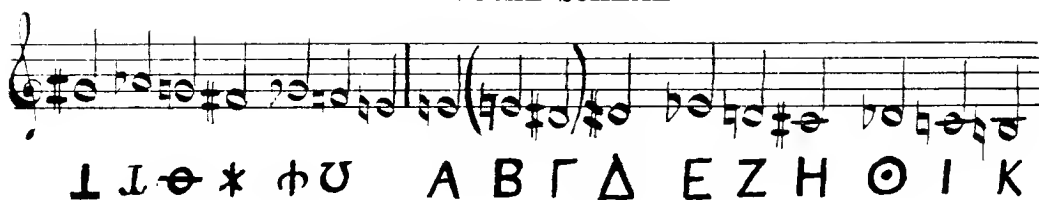
$$b \flat, c \flat, c \sharp, e \flat, f \sharp, g \flat, g \sharp, b \flat.$$

The rest of the keys contain four new signs:—

$\text{X}$  and its octave  $\text{N}$ , and  $\text{V}$  and its octave  $\Delta$ . Alypius gives the instrumental sign of the third of these as  $\text{L}$ . Aristides Quintilianus (Meibom. p. 21) uses  $\text{I}$ , which appears, from the instrumental scheme below, to be correct. An examination of the remaining chromatic keys on the lines already indicated easily establishes  $\text{X}$  and  $\text{N}$  to be a  $\sharp$  (skhismatic  $b \flat$ ) and  $\text{V}$  and  $\Delta$  to be  $d \sharp$  (skhismatic  $e \flat$ ). In the Lydian and Hypolydian enharmonic keys, Alypius takes  $e \flat$  and  $b \flat$  as enharmonics of  $e \flat$  and  $b \flat$  respectively. He is followed in this by Aristides Quintilianus. The three manuscript hymns, in most recensions, use  $e \flat$  as enharmonic to  $e \flat$ . Some recensions of the hymns to Helios and Nemesis, however, give  $\Lambda$ , which may be meant for  $\Delta$  ( $e \flat$ ). In the instrumental notes to the song from *Orestes*,  $\text{I}$  (corresponding to the vocal  $\text{V}$  or  $e \flat$ ) again appears. From the context, it is evidently a wrong note, being intended for  $e \flat$  ( $\text{V}$ ). I think there is good reason to hold that the frame of the instrumental scheme (which see below) led the ignorant to suppose wrongly that  $e \flat$  and  $b \flat$  were the correct enharmonics of  $e \flat$  and  $b \flat$ .

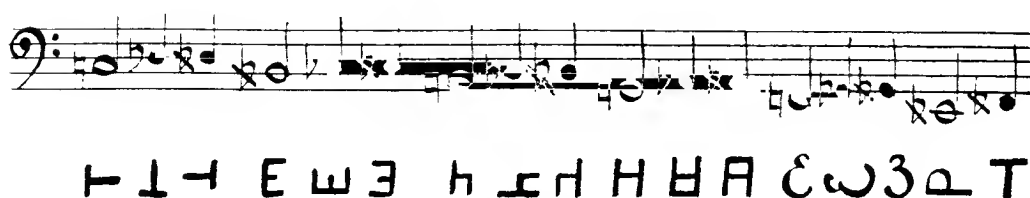
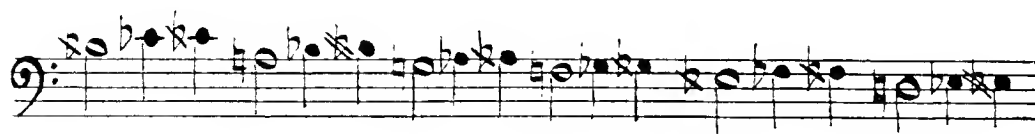
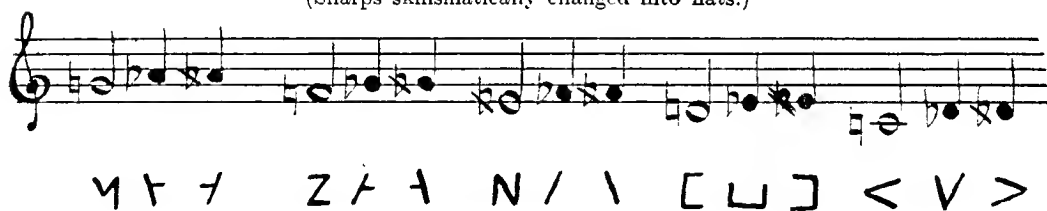
The truth of my interpretation is established not only by the versions it presents of the old Greek compositions but by the extraordinarily ingenious alphabetical arrangements here set forth:—

# THE VOCAL SCHEME



## THE INSTRUMENTAL SCHEME

(Sharps skhismatically changed into flats.)



It is evident from the instrumental scheme that the fully developed kithara was tuned to the ditonal scale. This was undoubtedly one of the many innovations brought in by the Pythagoreans. To them also must be awarded the credit for inventing the notation, and not to Aristoxenos. The bar of the kithara enabled the player to tighten the strings by any interval up to a full semitone. In India, the *bina*, which is the principal instrument, is tuned to a collection of notes based not upon any favourite scale, but upon considerations of convenience. The *muances*, which transform the fret notes into the required scale, are obtained by pressing hard upon the wire or drawing it to one side. The Pythagorean method was similar; the bar gave any note required. The adoption of the relative string lengths of the ditonal scale for the intervals of the Lydian key by late and ignorant authors, such as Anonymus<sup>11</sup> and Aristides Quintilianus, is therefore no longer a mystery, and the assertion that Greek music was founded upon the ditonal scale stands refuted.

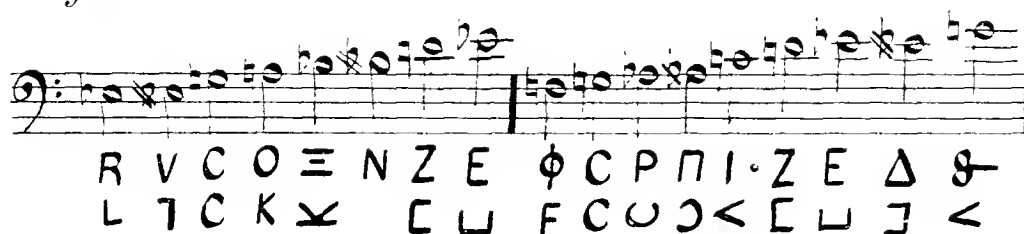
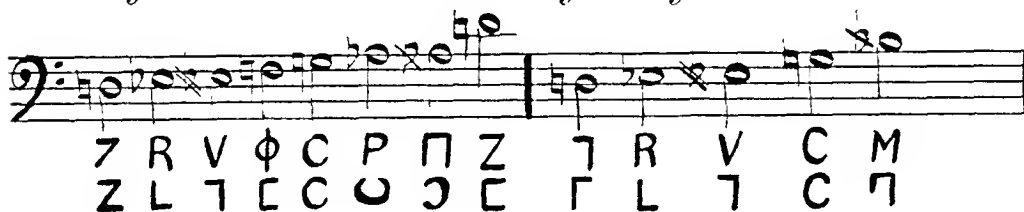
*Other Notational Signs.* The Epitaph of Seikelos, an inscription discovered by Sir W. M. Ramsay at Tralles, and the papyrus fragment containing a chorus from *Orestes* (lines 338 to 343) bear rhythmic signs. The length of the notes is shown by marks placed above them, — for a note of two time-units and ⊐ for one of three. A note upon which the beat comes bears a dot. In the chorus, a distinction is drawn between beats, one kind being denoted by a dot above the note, and the other by a dot at one side. I assume that the former method marks the main stress, and the latter a subsidiary stress. The epitaph makes use of the following additional signs (1) ∪ as in  $\overset{\cup}{\kappa}$ , and (2) ∩ as in  $\overset{\cap}{\chi}$ . These are dealt with in *Anonymus de Musica*. Bellermaun takes ∩ to mean *staccato*, ∪ to mean *quasi-staccato*, and ∪ to mean *legato*. ∪ is there applied to different notes, while the other two signs are also applied to repetitions of the same note. From this, and judging by the peculiarities of oriental music in general, I think it is more likely that ∪ stood for *portando* or the glide, ∩ for the 'leap,' that is for the absence of glide, and ∩ for *staccato*. The *staccato* sign was sometimes written thus, ∩.

### III. SCALES, HARMONIES AND MODES

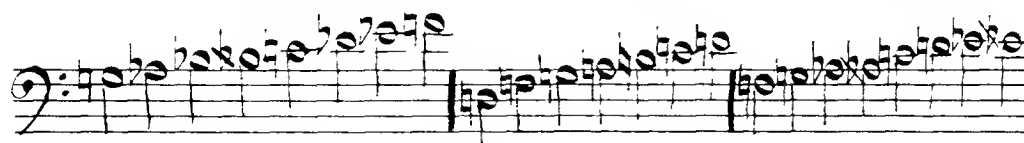
The Greeks employed three different methods of representing scales. In discussing the structure of scales, as we have seen, they made use of the tetrachord. In exhibiting the modes of a Harmony, they adopted the full octave (Ptolemy, *Harmonic* i. 16. ii. 14). It was also customary to show the *tessitura* of a composition by stringing together the actual notes contained. This method was probably the most ancient, as the further back one goes in the history of music, the more importance seems to be attached to matters of compass. The Dorian, for example, was in early times only allowed to descend a tone below the *hypate*. I think it very likely that this circumstance led the Church to suppose that the Dorian was a D mode. To illustrate my meaning, I give a few compass scales.

<sup>11</sup> *Anonymus de Musica*, edited by Bellermaun (Berlin, 1841).

## ARISTIDES QUINTILIANUS

*Lydian \***Dorian**Ionian \***Phrygian**Mixolydian**Syntonolydian*

## OTHER SCALES

*God Save the King (in A<sup>b</sup>)**The Epitaph**The Chorus*

\* The Lydian and Ionian appear to be misnamed. There are also mistakes in the notation.



As regards the genera, we may acquire some further knowledge from the Greek compositions. The enharmonic or chromatic sometimes formed the sole basis of a composition. The enharmonic genus was much favoured in the strict classical school represented by the *agon* of Delphi. The enharmonics were frequently omitted, leaving a pentatonic scale as in the opening of the long hymn to Apollo. The enharmonic genus was often mixed with the diatonic as in other passages in the same hymn, and in the chorus from *Orestes*. A sparing use of the genus was also made in compositions in diatonic scales. This will be observed in each of the three manuscript hymns. The enharmonic seems to have been employed, like the chromatic chord of modern times to add piquancy to the music. The manner of its employment is well-deserving of study. The phrase  $e \flat, d \sharp, e \flat, b \flat, a \natural, g \sharp, b \flat$  in the hymn to Calliope provides a beautiful climax to the melody. We have many such instances in our own music, but no one except the naturally gifted musician pays any attention to them. The following excerpt from the 'haunting' melody in the Unfinished Symphony is given in two renderings, A and B :—



In the passage marked *a b*,  $g \sharp, a \flat$  is followed first by  $e \flat$ , which, being a just fourth below  $a \flat$ , leaves no doubt as to the intonation, and then by the enharmonically raised pair  $g \sharp, a \flat$ . Similarly, in the hymn to Calliope,  $e \flat$  is separated by one note  $d \sharp$  from its enharmonic  $e \flat$ , and the changed intonation is emphasised by a leap to  $b \flat$ . Schubert, needless to say, was neither a victim of the temperament habit, nor of the ditonal habit. A is therefore what he intended, and it is in the best Greek manner. I heard a small and well-trained French orchestra play the symphony. The 'cellos, who were led on that occasion by a celebrated soloist, played as in A. The violins replied with B. The next day in answer to my questions, the conductor said he had noticed the difference. The rendering of the 'cellos made certain notes flat. The rendering of the violins was *plus juste*, by which he meant, as he admitted, more in tune with the piano! Rendering B, to my mind, degrades the music into a kind of musical pun. And that is the rendering which is generally given. The surviving examples of Greek music throw very little light upon

the treatment of chromatic scales. There are interesting passages in the first of the mural hymns in which the chromatic, diatonic and enharmonic are all used together. The hymn to Calliope also employs a chromatic note. The orthodox Greek chromatic genus is still to be found in India in the Karnatic *rāga* Kanakangi amongst others. It is not, however, an interesting scale. Most of the Greek chromatic scales must have been compounded of mixed chromatic and diatonic tetrachords. Finally, to revert to the enharmonic genus, melodies in purely enharmonic scales would be much appreciated by the musical experts of India or Persia, at the present day. The best Indian singers make a lavish use of enharmonic changes. To the European, the singer appears to attack his notes in a slovenly way, beginning a little sharp or flat and sliding on to the correct pitch. That style of singing is strongly suggested by the chorus from *Orestes*.

*The Harmonies and Modes.* The modal scale, as used by Ptolemy, and by European musicians, takes no count of the compass of a composition. In the Greek system it stretched downwards for the space of an octave, either from the *nete diezeugmenon*, or from the *mese*; we take our scales from tonic to tonic. Aristotle compares the *mese* to the conjunction in speech, because it frequently recurs, and links the other notes together.<sup>12</sup> The *mese*, in that view, was the predominant note of the melody, or more briefly, the *predominant*.<sup>13</sup> The *hypate* was the *final*, upon which the voice came to rest naturally, and without effort.<sup>14</sup> These remarks will be found to apply most aptly to all the compositions except the last two manuscript hymns. Those hymns, to Helios and Nemesis, make the *hypate*<sup>15</sup> the *predominant*, and the *mese* the *final*. This brings us to the important distinction embodied later on in the terms *authentic* and *plagal*. In the Byzantine period they were known as *εἶδος ἀτελές*, ending on the hypate (*i. e.* authentic), and *εἶδος τέλειον* (or plagal), ending on the *mese*.<sup>16</sup> In the authentic mode, therefore, the predominant was a fourth above the final; in the plagal mode it was a fifth above. A further corollary to be drawn is that every complete parent scale had the latent capacity of producing fourteen modes.

The old Harmonies of Greece can best be discussed in the diatonic form. In Athenaeus 14. 624 is a fragment from Heraclides Ponticus in which the following passage occurs: 'The term *ἁρμονία* should not be applied to the Phrygian or Lydian scales; there are three Harmonies, as there are three tribes of Hellenes—Dorians, Aeolians, Ionians. . . . We must conceive a very low opinion of theorists who fail to detect differences of species, while they keep pace with every variation of pitch. . . . The passage describes the *ethos* of the three Harmonies, and states that, in the author's time, the Aeolian was known as the Hypodorian, being below the Dorian on the *aulos*. Aristoxenus<sup>17</sup> describes the scale-system in question thus: 'Others again, looking to the holes of the *aulos*, separate the three lowest keys, the

<sup>12</sup> *Prob.* xix. 20. See also *Prob.* 36.

<sup>13</sup> This term is preferred to 'dominant,' being free from ambiguity.

<sup>14</sup> *Prob.* xix. 334.

<sup>15</sup> Or the *nete*.

<sup>16</sup> Bryennios (circ. 1400 A.D.) John Wallis, *Opera Math.* iii. 259. Oxon. 1699.

<sup>17</sup> Meibom. p. 37; Macran, 128. 193.

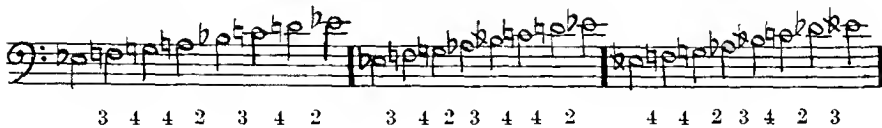
Hypophrygian, Hypodorian, and Dorian by an interval of three-fourths of a tone. . . . There is no reason therefore to connect the Aeolian with the Hypodorian of later times.<sup>18</sup> We can identify the harmony with certainty from another source. The 'Introduction' formerly attributed to Euclid (Meibom. 20. 1) contains this passage, descriptive of the keys: 'Two Lydian keys, a higher, and a lower also called Aeolian: two Phrygian, one low also called Ionian, and one high: one Dorian; two Hypolydian, a higher, and a lower, also called Hypoaeolian; two Hypophrygian, of which the lower is also called Hypoionian.' This description accurately corresponds to the keys of Alypius, if we omit the Hypodorian and the high keys (Hyperlydian, etc.), three of which are merely low keys transposed an octave higher. The modes which formed the nucleus of the keys are at once apparent if we take octave scales upwards from either  $\mathbf{R}$  (e ♭) or  $\mathbf{\Omega}$  (e ♭) in the 'higher' keys, and  $\mathbf{\Gamma}$  (d ♯) in the 'lower' keys.<sup>19</sup> The instrumental notes involved in this collection of scales include eight of the groups of three, beginning respectively with the letters  $\mathbf{\Gamma}$   $\mathbf{\Psi}$   $\mathbf{C}$   $\mathbf{K}$   $\mathbf{\Gamma}$   $\mathbf{<}$   $\mathbf{C}$  and finishing up with one note  $\mathbf{N}$ . I give below the resulting modal scales:—

### THE HIGHER MODES

1. Hypolydian.

2. Lydian.

3. Hypophrygian.



4. Phrygian.

5. Dorian.

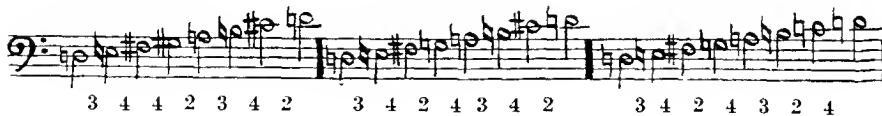


### THE LOWER MODES

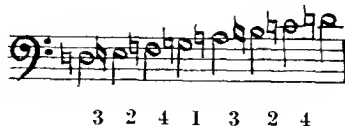
1. Hypoaeolian.

2. Aeolian.

3. Hypoionian.



4. Ionian.



<sup>18</sup> Herachides was a pupil of Plato.

<sup>19</sup> As the notes are named by Alypius the *mese* is always the base of a Dorian tetrachord. The names have regard to the theoretical structure of the keys. They

are, in that sense, *functional* names. Each mode, however, had its own *mese*, the *mese* of *position*. This is clear from Ptolemy's scales, and from other indications.

The first batch are in one Harmony, Scale IV. That can be no other than the national scale *par excellence*, the Dorian. If the lower keys of Alypius be examined it will be found that they form a kind of patchwork cementing the whole structure. Two of them, the Aeolian and Ionian, are in distinctive Harmonies to which the others are merely introductory. Their titles are sufficient to proclaim that they are the two other famous Harmonies, which, with the Dorian, represented the three tribes of Hellenes. The Dorian was therefore an E mode, the Aeolian a C mode, and the Ionian a D mode. The symmetry of these scales is apparent when one describes them in *sruti* figures with the point of conjunction emphasised.

234 — 4 — 234; 342 — 4 — 342; 324 — 4 — 324.

Let me add that *our* Harmonies are the major and minor (descending melodic form). The former is supposed to be the just major (Scale II.), and the latter is the Aeolian, A mode. It is quite a mistake to think of the minor as the A mode of the major. This is only so, speaking generally, in equal temperament or the ditonal. As Mr. J. Curtis points out,<sup>20</sup> the Pythagoreans persuaded the theatre to accept the whole range of Dorian modes. In this way the *τρόπος* came into existence. The school founded by Pythagoras performed inestimable services to the art of music, but this innovation was a severe blow to the old national Harmonies, and was strongly resented by men of taste. The Lydian *τρόπος* was a poor substitute for the Aeolian. The Phrygian was a scale of extreme austerity. This may be realised from the Hymn to Nemesis. The more pleasing of the Dorian *τρόποι* were the Dorian, Mixolydian, and Hypodorian,<sup>21</sup> as these were most suited to the Harmony. Among the Greeks, as the above quotation from Heraclides shows, the conception mode and Harmony were not clearly differentiated. It is not surprising therefore to find that many Greek writers used the terms *ἁρμονία* and *τρόπος* without discrimination. The distinction was that the *τρόποι* of any parent-scale differed, as regards intervals, in starting point only: they were octave scales cut out in different places from the same string of intervals. The Harmonies, on the other hand, were taken from different strings; their major and minor tones were arranged in a different order.

I add the following note upon the surviving examples of Greek music. The first mural hymn makes use of the Dorian *mode* in two forms, one in Dorian Harmony, commencing in the pentatonic form, the other in Aeolian Harmony. The latter on its second appearance is highly ornamented chromatically and enharmonically. The second mural hymn, in the instrumental notation, employs the Dorian and Hypodorian modes of Dorian Harmony. The Epitaph is in the Ionian, hexatonic form. The chorus from *Orestes* is in the Dorian with enharmonic embellishment. The three manuscript hymns are masterpieces. The way the cadences are managed and *tonality* maintained is most artistic. The hymn to Calliope is in a free form of the Dorian, employing a chromatic note and descending a fourth below the *hypate*. The hymn to Helios or Apollo is in the Mixolydian, and that to

<sup>20</sup> *J. H. S.*, XXXIII (1913), p. 35.

<sup>21</sup> *I. e.* the *Ε*, B and A modes.

Nemesis in the Phrygian. It will be observed that the last two modes are clearly plagal. We may conclude that the Mixolydian was a plagal B mode somewhat resembling the Dorian, employing the chief cadences in the form a ♭, g ♯, g ♯ being the *mese*, that it made use of the high d ♯ frequently, this fact imparting to it the shrill flavour for which it was noted, and that it revelled in a variety of cadences borrowed from other modes. The leading note of the Dorian was a tone below the hypate (f ♯ a tone below g ♯).

#### IV. RHYTHM

With the exceptions of the Epitaph and Chorus from *Orestes*, the extant compositions give no indication of rhythm. From this circumstance, the unwarranted inference has been drawn that the rhythm followed the metre. Greek music has thereby been made a laughing-stock. In ancient Greece, poetry wielded such an immense influence, that the melody of the *nomos*, or of the classical ode, was subordinated to the metre. This led to what we should regard as a straining by the poet after metrical effect, for no poetry could equal in scope or freedom the rhythm of music—and to the development of new forms of instrumental accompaniment. The *nomos* was sung by the priest to the kithara. His skill was shown, not in the melody of the voice part, which was so circumscribed, that no room for originality was left to him, but by an elaborate counterpoint on the kithara. Quotations from Greek authors, which in unequivocal terms describe the heterophony of the accompanying instruments, have been collected by Westphal.<sup>22</sup> But the musician did not meekly submit to the poet. Much of the controversy between the 'rhythmici' and 'metrici' was due to a revolt, beginning as far back as the time of Euripides (480–406 B.C.), against the irksome practice of restricting the musician in the time he could allot to each syllable. Many quotations bearing on this point are to be found in Bellermann's notes to *Anonymus de Musica*. Dionysios of Halicarnassos, who wrote upon the subject of Greek pronunciation, at the beginning of the Christian era, regretted that, in his days, vocal and instrumental music subjected the words to the melody instead of the melody to the words. He gives an example from *Orestes* in which most of the accents are wrongly treated, and states further that musicians were wont to make the syllables fit the time, instead of cutting the time to fit the syllables. Very little imagination is needed to convince one that a musical and artistic nation could not have tolerated the tyranny of long and short in their music. The music of the two examples we have (the Epitaph and Chorus alluded to above) violates the metre in many instances. Then again, if we turn to *Anonymus de Musica*, we shall find a wealth of rhythmic forms which remind one of the *tālas* or musical measures of India.<sup>23</sup> Oriental music of the present day indulges in the utmost complexity of rhythm. The

<sup>22</sup> Author of *Harmonik* and *Melopoie* (1863 and 1886) and *Musik des Griechischen Alterthums* (Leipsic, 1883).

<sup>23</sup> Some recensions of the hymn to Calliope contain instructions which seem to refer to the rhythm of the music.

absence of rhythmic signs in the three manuscript hymns presents no obstacle to the conclusion I wish to draw. In India, until recently, no one ever attempted to write down the rhythm of a song, although the notes in a kind of tonic-solfa were often placed above the words, just as in the examples before us. When popular teachers of music set to work to remedy this state of affairs, the only means that suggested itself to them was to take the unit of time known as the *matra*, and to put below each note a number or a fraction showing how many units of time or parts of such units it should occupy. Another row of signs was used to show where the beats came. The Greek metrical signs were obviously unsuited to any but the simplest forms of melody.

In my opinion, nothing can be more certain than that the music of the hymns to Calliope, Apollo and Nemesis did not slavishly follow the metre. It is therefore necessary to reconstruct the rhythm of these three specimens. The question arises whether the rhythm should be based generally upon accent or quantity, in other words, whether the strong beat of the bar should coincide with an accented rather than with a long syllable.

These three hymns belong to the second century A.D. It appears to me that the only way to make musical sense out of them is to follow the accents in preference to the metre. In the epitaph and chorus from *Orestes*, which are the only sure guide we have, the rhythm does not come amiss to the modern Greek. The chorus quite clearly makes rhythm follow accent. Some writers have traced the modern Greek stress-accent to the beginning of the Christian era. If the chorus from *Orestes* can be relied upon in this connexion, the stress-accent is to be credited with a much higher antiquity. Two views on the subject, widely held, are open to strong criticism. One is that the ancient Greeks, in conversation, put the ictus on the long syllables. In a great many words this would imply a stress upon one syllable, and a rise of pitch on another. One has only to realise the difficulty of stressing a syllable without raising the voice, or raising the voice in pitch but not in loudness, to hold that the very strongest evidence is necessary to support such a view. The opinion is based upon two assumptions—one that the arsis and thesis of poetry imported a stress,<sup>24</sup> the other that the stress thus inferred was not confined to poetry. The second view which many hold is that the Greek language could not have had any stress-accent, as the grammarians say nothing about it. Perhaps, in future generations, antiquarians will give as their considered opinion that the English language had no pitch-accent, as the lexicographers confined their attention to the ictus.

Is it not a curious circumstance that the Greeks divided their syllables into unit syllables and two-unit syllables, and subjected their speech-intonation to rule? The spoken word must always be fluid and liable to slight variations following the meaning. Even in regard to the position of the ictus, there can be no simple hard-and-fast rule. The pitch accent demands a considerable latitude and the relative length of syllables even more elasticity. What was it then that impelled the Greek poets to harness the metre and put shackles

<sup>24</sup> Mr. Goodell (*Chapters on Greek Metric*, Yale University Press, 1901) criticises this theory.

upon the pitch-accent of speech? With extreme diffidence I suggest the following answer. The laws of metre were older than writing. They served as a mnemonic system. No better device for the preservation of knowledge could have been invented. Poetry, founded upon this artifice, wielded unbounded influence. Like the Vedas, it was sung and not merely declaimed. In order that the subtleties of the metre should stand forth, the ictus of speech was suppressed, and the coincident pitch-accent was subjected to rule and made to do duty for both.

In the renderings which follow, the rhythm of the three hymns has been based broadly upon the ictuses as they occur in modern Greek, as much allowance being made as is reasonably possible for differences in the length of syllables.

E. CLEMENTS.

*I have added a harmonised accompaniment to three of the Greek compositions, and a counterpoint to the hymn to Helios and the first mural hymn. My main object in writing these accompaniments is to draw attention to the correct harmonies. I merely give a few excerpts from the extremely fragmentary second mural hymn. Missing words in all cases have been copied from the Supplement to the Musici Scriptores Graeci, Teubner Series. In filling up lacunae in the music, the rules followed as far as possible have been :—*

- (1) *The acute-accented syllable is raised.*
- (2) *The unaccented is lowered.*
- (3) *The grave remains at the pitch of the preceding syllable or is raised, generally one degree.*
- (4) *The circumflex takes the falling tone.*

## SEVEN MUSICAL COMPOSITIONS OF ANCIENT GREECE.

The organ should be tuned as above described.

If a harp is used, it should be constructed and tuned as follows. The double-action harp, except for the skhismatic substitution of  $d \flat$  and  $g \flat$  for  $e \sharp$  and  $f \sharp$ , gives exact intonation. The single-action harp gives  $e \flat$  for  $e$ ,  $b \flat$  for  $b$ ,  $g \flat$  for  $g$ .

*Double-action Harp.*

Pedals: *First notch*, the diminished semitone.  
*Second notch*, the just semitone.

Tuning: in C Major, Ionian Scale—  
 Just fifths from c: g-d-a, and f.  
 Major thirds: c-e and g-b.

*Single-action Harp.*

Pedals: the diminished semitone (taken in some instances as a substitute for the residual semitone).

Tuning: in C Minor, Aeolian Scale—  
 Just fifths from c: g-d, and f.  
 Minor third: c-e ♭.  
 Fifths from e ♭: b ♭ and a ♭.

## I. TO CALLIOPE

Key Lydian, Harmony  
 and Mode Dorian.

*Ascribed to Dionysius,  
 2nd Century A.D.*

Organ

(a)

Voice & Organ

Α-ει-δε μου-σα' μοι φίλη, μόλῃς δ' ἔμῃς κατ' ἀρ-χου· αὐρῇ δὲ σὼν ἀπ'

(b)

Η Η Ι Μ Ζ Η Ι Φ C P M φ C C P M P C φ C φ H C C C C C T P φ P φ C cte se.

ἀλ-σά-ων ἑμὰς φρένας δονεῖ— τῷ Καλλιόπεια σοφῶ, μούτων πρακταγέτι τερπνῶν καὶ σοφῶ

ed accel

Α Tempo

Μυστο-δότα, λατοῦς γόνε Δῆ-λιε Παιάν, εὐ-μενεῖς πάρεσ-τέ μοι.

(a) Two recensions have what may be the staccato sign (~ in one, — in another; it should be χ). The sign ~ is also to be found after the first syllable of λατοῦς.

(b) Some recensions have N for H.



## II. TO HELIOS.

Key Lydian, Harmony  
Dorian, Mode Mixolydian.

Ascribed to Dionysius,  
2nd Century A.D.

Organ Allegro

Voice & Organ

*f* C C C C I C P C Φ C *dim.* Φ M M M M C Φ M I 7 M

Χίαν-βλεφάρων πάτερ Ἁ - οῦς, ῥο-δά-εσαν ὅς ἀντυγα πώ - λων

M I M I P M I Z 7 Z M Z M Z I M I M Z I M I

πᾶνοις ἐπ' ἵχθε-σι δι-ώ-κεις, χρυ-σέαι-σιν ἀγαλλόμενος κόμαις, περὶ

Z I M I P Φ C P P C C P M M M M M M I M I M

νῶ-τον ἀ-πείριτον αὐ-ρανοῦ ἀ-κτῖ-να πολύ-στρο-φον ἀμπλέκων, αἴγλας

P M I Z I M P C C P M M M C R Φ M M *cresc.* M I

παλῦδε-ρ-κέα πα- γὰν περὶ γαί-αν ἅπα-σαν ἐ-λίθ-σων πο-τα-

Z Z Z Z Z E I E Z P M I Z Z I M P C

-μοὶ δὲ σέ-θεν πυ-ρὸς ἀμ - βρό-του τί-κτονσιν ἐπ' ἡ-ρατοῦ ἀ-μέραν

ρ C φ C P M M M P P C M  
 Σοὶ μὲν χορὸς εὐ-δοῖ-ας πρῶν κατ'  
 I M M I P M I Z Z Z Z M Z Z M Z I E Z M I  
 Ὁ-λυμ-πὼν ἄ-να-κτα χορ-εύ-ει ἄ-νε-ταν μέ-λος αἰ-ὲν ἄ-ει-δων, Φοι-βη-  
 Z Z M I P φ Z Z ρ ρ ρ C P  
 -ῖ-δι περ-τό-με-νος λύ-ρα. Γλαυ-  
 M M M C P M M I M I M I M M P M I Z Z  
 -κα δὲ πᾶ-ρα-θε Σε-λά-να χρό-νον ὥ-ρι-ον ἄ-γε-μεν-εῦ-ει  
 M I Z I M I φ C P M P C f C C C C C C P C P φ  
 λευ-κῶν ἐ-πὶ σύρ-μασι μῶσ-χων γαῖ-νται δέ-τε σοι νό-ος εὐ-  
 P M M I Z I M I φ C P M P C  
 -μετῆς πολυ-οί-μονα κόσ-μον ἑ-λί-σ-σων.

## III. TO NEMESIS.

Key Lydian, Harmony  
Dorian, Mode Phrygian.

Ascribed to Mesomedes,  
2nd Century A.D.

**Voice**

*Molto Moderato*

Νέμεσι πτερόεσσα βίου βροπὰ, κυα-νῶπι θεὰ δύγατερ

Δίκας, ἃ κού-φρα γνάμνα θνά-των ἐ-πέχεις ἁ-δά-μαντι χαλί-νῳ.

ἔχθουσα δ' ὕβριν ὀλοῶν βροτῶν μέλανα φθόνον ἐκ-τός ἐ-λάν-νεις. Ὑπὸ σὸν τροχὸν ἄ-

*mf*

\* Some recensions, here, as at bars 20 and 26, give ^ (for γ).

*pp*

*pp*

C Φ Ρ Μ Ι Ζ Ε Ψ Ζ Ι Ι Μ Ζ Μ Μ Μ Μ Μ Μ Μ Ρ Μ C C Φ Ρ  
 - στα-τον ἄ-στι-βῆ χαροπὰ μερόπων στρέφεται τύχα· λήθονσα δὲ τὰρ πόδα βάλει-νεις γαν-

Φ Ρ Ρ Μ Ι Ρ Μ Λ Μ Ρ Φ Ρ C Φ Ρ Ρ C Ρ Μ Ι Ψ Μ Ι Ζ Ε Ι Μ Μ  
 -ρούμενον αὐχέ-να κλί-νεις· ὑπὸ πῆχυν ἄ-εὶ βίατον μετρεις, γένεις δ' ὑπὸ κόλπον ὄφρυν

Μ Φ Μ Φ Μ Μ Ρ C Μ Ι Λ Ι Ε Ε Ε Ε Ζ Ζ Ι Μ Ι  
 κά-τω ζυ-γὸν μετὰ χεῖρα κρατοῦ-σα. Ἰλαδί μάκαιρα δικαιοσύνη

Ε Ε Ε Ζ Ζ Ι Μ Ι Ι Ζ Μ Ι Μ Μ Μ Μ Ι Μ C Ρ Μ Μ Ζ Μ Ι Ζ Ε Ι Μ  
 Νέμεσι πτερόεσσα βίου ροπά. Νέμεσιν ὄν' ἄδοκεν ἀφ' ὀϊάν, γέλην τανυστάται ἄν

10 *legato*

Z M M M U U U U Z E C M P M M M M C M P M Z  
 -βρί-μαν, νημερ-τέ-α καὶ πάρεδρον Δίκην, ἃ τὰν μεγαλὰνο-ρί-αν βρο-τῶν νέμε-  
*cresc.* *roco* α *roco*  
 σῶ-σα φέρεις κατὰ τὰρ - τά - ρου

## IV. CHORUS FROM ORESTES.

Key Lydian, Harmony  
and Mode Dorian.Papyrus  
fragment.

*Trumpet*  
*Choir*  
 Κα-το-λο-φύ-ρο-μαι μα-τέ-ρος αἵ-μα σᾶς, ὅτ' ἀνα-βακ-χέ-ν-ει. ὁ μέγας  
 ὄλ-βος οὐ μόνι-μος ἐν βρο-τῶις· ἀ-νά δὲ λαίφρος ὥς τις ἀ-κά-του θε-ᾶς πη-ά-ξας  
 δαί-μων κατέκλυ-σεν δεινῶν πόνων, ὥς πάντου λάβ-ροις ὀλε-θρίοις ἐν κύ-μα-σιν.

\* 7 is a mistake for γ.

## V. DELPHIAN HYMN I.

Transposed,  $b\flat(M) = g\flat$ .

The bars imply no stress.

Original Key Phrygian,  
modulating into Hyperphrygian.Mural Inscription,  
3rd Century B.C.

*Dorian, pentatonic (d)* | *IMIMYM*

Voice

Κέκλυ-θ' ἔλ-κω-να ζα-δύ-δεν-δρον αἰ λᾶ-χε-τε Δι-ὸς ἐ-ρι-βρό-μον θυ-γα-τρὸς ἐὺ-

οι μι μυμ γ μ φ υ φ ο υ

-ὦ-λε-νοι Μόλ-ε-τε σὺ-νό-μαι-μον ἵ-να Φοῖ-βον ὠ-δα-εῖ-σι μέλ-ψη-τε χρυ-σε-ο-κό-μων. ὅς ἀνὰ δι-κό-

υ ο υ ο μ οι μ γ γ μ γ μ ι ο ι ο γ υ φ γ υ φ υ

-ρυν-βα Παρ-νασσ-σί-δος τᾶς-δε πε-τέρας ἔ-δρει ἅμ' ἄ-γα-κλυ-τέῃ Δελ-φί-σι-ιν Κά-σταλ-λ-δος ἐ-οὐ-ύ-δρου

*Dorian, hexatonic (d)*

ο γ λ μ γ μ ι ο ι μ φ

νό-ματ' ἐ-πι-νί-σ-σε-ται, Δελ-φὸν ἅ-νὰ πρῶ-να μαν-τεί-ον ἐ-ρέ-πων πα-γον.

*Aeolian, E Mode (g)*

κ λ μ ο κ λ κ γ υ φ υ ο γ

Ἦν κλυ-τά με-γα-λό-πο-λις Ἀρ-θίς ἐν-χαί-ε-σι, φε-ρό-πλοι-ο ναί-ου-σα τρι-τω-νί-δος δα-πέ-δον ἄ-

Γ Β Γ Λ Κ Γ Ο Μ Γ Κ Μ Λ Κ Λ Μ Λ Μ Ο Κ Λ  
 - θραύ-σαν. ἄ-γί-οις δὲ βω-μοῖ-σιν Ἀ-ραισ-τος αἰεῖ-δει νέ-ων μῆ-ρα ταύ-ρων ὁ-μοῦ

Γ Μ Ο Ι Ο Γ Θ Υ Ο Μ Λ Μ Ο Υ Ο Μ Λ Μ  
 δὲ νῦν ἄ-ρα φ' ἀτ-μός ἐς Ὀ-λύμπ-τον ἄ-να-κί-δ-να-ται. λιγὺ δὲ ἁω-το-ὺς βρέ-μων

Λ Κ Λ Μ Μ Υ Ο Μ Λ Μ Γ Β Λ Κ Γ Μ Κ Λ Μ Ο Υ Ο Μ Λ Μ Ο  
 αἰ-ό-λοις μέλ-εσσιν ὤ-δαν κρα-κεῖ χρυ-σέ-α δ' ἄ-δύ-δρους κί-θαρις ὕμ-νοι-σιν ἄ-να-μέ-λ-η-πε-ται.

Dorian (d) Φ Υ Γ Γ Ο Γ Υ Ο Γ  
 Ὁ δὲ τεχνι-τῶν πρό-παις ἔσ-μός Ἄθ-δί-δα λα-χὼν τὸν κι-θαρί-σει κλυ-τὸν

Π αἰ-δα μέ-γα-λου Δι-ὸς ὕμ-νεϊ. σὺ γε παρ' ἀκρο-νηῇ τόνδε πύ-γον αμ-βρό-των ἐκ μυ-χῶν

Μ Υ Μ Ι Μ Ι Ο Γ Ο  
 πᾶ-σι θνα-τοῖς προ-φάι-νεις ἔ-πε-α. τρί-ποδα μω-ν-τεί-ον ὥς εἰ-λεις, ἐχ-θρὸς δὲν ἔ-φραί.

-ρει δρᾶ-κων, ὅ-τε τε-οῖ-σι βέ-λε-σιν ἔ-τρη-σας αἰ-ό-λον ἑ-λικ-τὰν φυ-άν·  
 ἔσ-δ' ὁ θῆρ συ-χνὰ συ-ρίγ-μαθ' ἰ-εῖς ἀ-θώ-πευτ' ἀ-πέ-πνευσ' ὁ-μῶς.

[Concluding fragmentary portion omitted.]

# VI. EPITAPH OF SEIKELOS.

Key Ionian, Harmony  
and Mode Ionian.

Inscription found  
at Tralles.

CĪ Ī KI Ī KĪ Ī KOC OΦ CKIĪ  
 Ὅσον ζῆς φαί-νον μηδὲν ὁ-λως ὄν-λυ-ποῦ· πρὸς αἰόνον  
 Hide not friend, let thy light shine While thou livest do not grieve Life upon this  
 ΚΙ ΚC OΦ CKOI Ī KC C XĪ  
 ἔσ-τὶ τὸ ζῆν, τὸ τέλος ὁ χρόνος ἀ-παι-τεῖ·  
 world is but a span. At the end stands Chronos impor- tu- nate.

NOTE.—The glide is shown by a line. The effect is immensely improved by substituting  $f\sharp 7$  for  $f\sharp$ . Whether separate notational signs were used for the soft notes is unknown.



## VII. EXCERPTS FROM DELPHIAN HYMN II.

In Instrumental notation, the bars imply no stress.

A. Harmony Dorian, mode Hypodorian,  
hexatonic; key c $\flat$ .*Mural Inscription,*  
1st Century B.C.

*Instrument*

*Voice*

ἴτ' ἐπὶ τη-λεσ-κο-πον τᾶν-δε παρ-να-σι-ᾶν ὀφ-ρύων δι-κόρυ-φον κλει-τὺν, ὕμ-  
 -νων κκ-τάρ-χετε δ' ἐ-μῶν, Πι-ε-ρί-δες, αἰ-νι-φο-βο'-λους πέ-τας καί-εδ' ἑ-λι-κῶ-νι-δας.

*Aeolian E Mode (c)*

B. Harmony Dorian, mode Dorian, hexatonic; key d $\flat$ .

Πᾶς δὲ γά-θη-σε πό-λος οὐ-ρά-νι-ος ἀ-νέ-φε-λος ἀ-γλα-ός, νη-νέ-μους

δ' ἐσ-χεν αἰ-δηρ ἄ-ελ-λῶν τα-χυ-πε-τεῖς δρο'-μους, λή-ξε

At μελίπνοον δὲ λίβυς, the original mode is resumed. The modes of the two excerpts are employed alternately. At ὁ δὲ γέγαθ' ὕτι, a return is made to the Dorian in d; then, at ἀμφὶ πλοκάμων, the Hypodorian re-enters. Lines 124 to 168 are too fragmentary for any conclusion to be drawn. The music appears to end, in a different tempo, in the mode in which it begins.

E. C.

## GREEK INSCRIPTIONS FROM MACEDONIA <sup>1</sup>

### I. THESSALONICA AND THE PANHELLENION.

IN May, 1918, Captain A. E. W. Salt, then Base Censor at Salonica, sent me a rough copy of an inscription, about which he wrote: 'It is copied from a stone which I had cleaned, lying not 100 yards from my house near the Hippodrome, not, I think, in its original position.' I was unable to examine the stone personally, and my reading of the text is therefore based wholly upon Captain Salt's copy, which fortunately proves to be remarkably accurate if the difficulties of making such a copy and its provisional nature are borne in mind. It is here reproduced, save that I have ignored certain erasures and corrections, giving only the text as finally read by Captain Salt.

ΤΑ WON ΓΕ ΜΕΙΝΙΟΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΑ  
ΤΩΝ ΑΡΞΑΝΤΑ Τ' ὈΑΤ ΓΙΚ ΘΙ ΤΑ ΝΕΛΛΗΝΙΔ  
ΚΑ ΠΕΡΑΤΥΣ ΑΥΤΑΘΕΧ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΧ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΟ  
ΝΟΘΕΤΗΓΑΝΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΩΝ ΤΤΑ ΝΕΛΛΗ  
ΝΙΩΝ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΗΙΤΤΑ ΝΕΛΛΗΝΙΑ ΔΙΡΑΨΑΝΤΑ  
ΛΙΑΒΙΘΤΟΙΣ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΕΙΝΤ/ΡΩΤΣΟΝ Ε  
ΝΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΑ ΠΑΝΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ ΑΠ' ΟΥΕ  
ΛΑΙΡΝΙΡΟΠΑΤΣ ΕΟΕΣ ΑΛΟΜΕΙΚΕΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΩ  
ΓΥΜΝΑΕΙΑΡΧΗΣ ΑΝΤΑΚΑΠΙΡΩΤΑΡΧΗΣ Α  
ΤΑ ΕΝ ΗΛΑΜ ΠΡΑΤΑΥΤΗ ΤΟΛΕΙΔΟΝ ΑΕΞΥΠ  
ΕΧΕΣΕΩΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗΝ ΤΑΥΤΗΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΝ  
ΠΗΧ ΜΥΡΙΘΣ ΛΟΓΙΣΕΥΣΑΝΤΑ ΕΚΘΕΙΑΣ  
ΠΡΟΣ ΤΑΣΕΩΣ ΕΤΕ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΠΩΛΕ  
ΩΣ ΕΤΕ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩΙΟΝΙΩ ΚΟΛΠΩ ΤΕ ΜΕΙΝΙΑ  
ΔΑΥΜΤΑ ΗΟΥΓΑΤΗΡ ΤΩΝ ΠΑΤΕΡΑ  
  
ΕΥΤΥΧΩΣ

<sup>1</sup> Throughout this article I use the the numbers refer to the inscriptions abbreviation 'Dem.' to denote M. G. published in that work and not to its Demitsas, 'Η Μακεδονία, Athens, 1896; pages.

My transcription of the text is as follows :—

- Τ. Αἴλιον Γεμείνιον Μακεδόνα,  
 τὸν ἄρξαντα τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ Πανελληνίου  
 καὶ ἱερατεύσαντα θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ καὶ ἀγο-  
 νοθετήσαντα τῶν μεγάλων Πανελλη-  
 5 νίων ἐν τῇ η᾽ Πανελληνιάδι, ῥάψαντα  
 διὰ βίου τοῖς αὐτοκράτορσιν, πρῶτον γε-  
 νόμενον ἄρχοντα Πανελλήνων ἀπὸ τῆς  
 λαμπροτάτης Θερσσαλονεικέων πόλεω[ς],  
 γυμνασιαρχήσαντα καὶ πρωταρχήσα[ν]-  
 10 τα ἐν τῇ λαμπρᾷ ταύτῃ πόλει, δόντα ἐξ ὑπ[ο]-  
 σχέσεως εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν ταύτην ξύλων  
 πῆχ[εις] μυρίους, λογιστεύσαντα ἐκ θείας  
 προστάξεως τῆς Ἀπολλωνιατῶν πώλε-  
 ως τῆς πρὸς τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ, Γεμεινία  
 15 Ὀλυμπ[ι]ᾶ[ς] ἡ θυγάτηρ τῶν πατέρα  
 εὐτυχῶς.

In the foregoing transcript I have retained mis-spellings where they seem to occur on the stone, and have marked missing letters by the usual convention of square brackets: I have not, however, thought it necessary to indicate all the points in which I have diverged from the copy, as these can easily be seen by comparing the copy with the transcript. Here I mention only those which are of importance.

In Captain Salt's copy the words ΗΠΟΛΙΣ stand at the head of the text: but they are a later addition in ink (the rest of his copy is in pencil), and they indicate, I imagine, a 'conjectural restoration'.<sup>2</sup> As the concluding words suggest that we have here a memorial set up privately by the daughter of the man commemorated rather than one erected by the community, I have felt justified in rejecting Captain Salt's conjecture.

L. 3. Probably the τε of ἱερατεύσαντα are ligatured (as in λογιστεύσαντα, l. 12). The last letter of the line may be due to an engraver's error or to a mistake in the text which he followed. Cf. πώλεως (l. 13) and τὼν πατέρα (l. 15).

L. 6. I take the sixth element to be the monogram ου, which occurs in ll. 2, 3, 12. I can make nothing of the letter which follows the τ of πρῶτον and think it may be due to a slip of the modern copyist.

L. 10. The τ of δόντα may have been written in ligature with the ν, but as this ligature is not found in this inscription, though nine opportunities of using it presented themselves, it may be better to assume here also an oversight of the copyist.

L. 11. I read the last word of this line as ξύλων, although conscious that the change of ΝΤ to ΛΩ is a bold one.

<sup>2</sup> Incidentally it may be noted that the form Σ does not occur elsewhere in the copy.

L. 15. I have adopted the suggestion made to me by Dr. A. Wilhelm and read Ὀλυμπιάς in view of the space left in the copy between the Α and the succeeding Η. Ὀλυμπία is possible, but to my mind less probable.

The inscription, which was perhaps surmounted by a statue of Macedo, was erected by Geminia Olympias in honour of her father, T. Aelius Geminus Macedo, the first citizen of Thessalonica to preside over the Attic Panhellenion, who at the eighteenth celebration of the Great Panhellenia had been priest of divine Hadrian and ἀγωνοθέτης of the festival. In his own city he had held the offices of gymnasiarch and of first magistrate and had given 10,000 cubits of timber for the construction of the basilica, in or near which, it would seem, this memorial was erected. He had also by Imperial commission served as *curator* of Apollonia on the coast of the Adriatic.

No other record has, so far as I know, survived either of the father or of the daughter. The name Μακεδών is fairly common, and the cognate forms Μακεδονία (Dem. 27 = Ἀθηνᾶ, xx. 7), Μακεδονιανός (Dem. 380 = Ἀθηνᾶ, xv. 40; *I.G. Rom.* iii. 357), Μακεδονικός (Dem. 1) and Μακεδόσιος (Dem. 556 ?; *I.G. Rom.* iii. 1529) also occur.<sup>3</sup> At Ancyra we have two records (*I.G. Rom.* iii. 184, 195) of a P. Aelius Macedo, who held high office in the province of Galatia, but despite the identity of *nomen* and *cognomen* we have no reason to connect him with the T. Aelius Geminus Macedo of our inscription. The *praenomen* usually associated with Aelius is Publius, but Titus is occasionally found, e.g. in a dedication from Istros (*Jahresh. Beiblatt*, xiv. 151) and in a Latin epitaph from Timacum Minus, the modern Ravna (*ib.* vi. 46).

The name Olympias occurs at Olynthus (Dem. 746, 749) and at Amphipolis (Dem. 892), and also on a sarcophagus at Thessalonica (*B.C.H.* xxxvii. 113), probably of the second century of our era, dedicated to Geminus Olympus<sup>4</sup> by his wife Aequana Antiochis and their daughter Geminia Olympias, who also buried in it the fifteen-year-old daughter, named Megethin, born to her and her husband Castor. What relationship, if any, existed between this Geminia Olympias and that of our inscription must remain uncertain.

For the word εὐτυχῶς at the close of honorary inscriptions, especially common in the Thraco-Macedonian region, see G. Gerlach, *Griech. Ehreninschriften*, 98 f. To the examples there collected add *Corolla Numismatica*, 223 (Nicopolis ad Nestum) and *Ath. Mitt.* xxiv. 90 (Philippopolis). The same word closes several of the manumission-records found at Edessa (Ἀθηνᾶ, xii. 71 f., Nos. 2, 5, 6, 9).

The record of Macedo's activities falls into three sections, relating respectively to (a) his presidency of the Panhellenion, ll. 2-8; (b) the magistracies held in, and the benefaction bestowed on, Thessalonica, ll. 9-12; and (c) his office as *curator* of Apollonia, ll. 12-14. No indication is given of the order

<sup>3</sup> For names derived from nationalities see F. Bechtel, *Hist. Personennamen des Griechischen*, 536 ff. Cf. Bechtel-Fick,

*Griech. Personennamen*, 332 ff.

<sup>4</sup> So the transcript gives the name; in the commentary it appears as Olympius.

in which these various functions were discharged, but it is antecedently probable that Macedo reached the highest rank in the municipal magistracy of Thessalonica before becoming president of the Panhellenion and being selected by the Emperor to administer the affairs of an important city. The gift of timber for the basilica of Thessalonica may, however, have been his latest recorded action if, as seems probable, this statue was erected in, or just outside of, the building in question (τὴν βασιλικὴν ταύτην. l. 11).

For the *γυμνασιαρχία* in general, and particularly in Macedonia, see my note in *B.S.A.* xxiii. 75. *Πρωταρχήσα[ν]τα* (l. 9) refers to Macedo's tenure of the supreme magistracy of Thessalonica. For the archonship see von Schoeffer's article s.v. in Pauly-Wissowa, ii. 565 ff., and W. Liebenam, *Städteverwaltung im röm. Kaiserreiche*, 285 f. On the Attic archons of the Imperial period P. Graindor's recent work, *Chronologie des Archontes Athéniens sous l'Empire* (Brussels, 1922), should be consulted; for the power of the archonship at this time see B. Keil, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Areopags* (Leipzig, 1920). At Athens the first place among the archons is taken by the *ἐπώνυμος ἄρχων* (D. Fimmen, *Ath. Mitt.* xxxix. 130 ff.), who frequently bears the simple title *ἄρχων*, and Dio Cassius refers to his office as *ἡ μεγίστη παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀρχή* (lxix. 16): so far as I know, however, the title *πρώτος ἄρχων* is not found at Athens. The chief magistrates at Thessalonica in Imperial times were the *πολιτάρχαι* (see my note *B.S.A.* xxiii. 79 f.), and I believe that the term *πρωταρχήσαντα* in the inscription under discussion refers to the chairmanship of this board and does not point to the supersession of *πολιτάρχαι* by *ἄρχοντες* at some unknown date. Thus at Andros we hear of *ὁ πρωτάρχων στρατηγός* (*I.G.* xii. 5. 724), at Magnesia sub Sipylo the phrase *στρατηγοῦ πρώτου καὶ . . . τῶν συναρχόντων αὐτοῦ* occurs (*I.G. Rom.* iv. 1336), and the title *πρώτος ἄρχων* is borne by the first *στρατηγός* (*C.I.G.* 3407, 'Ελλ. φιλ. Σύλλ. xv. 54); at Blandus the chief of the *στρατηγοί* is designated *α' ἄρχων* (*I.G. Rom.* iv. 239), and the same seems to be the implication of the phrase *τὸν ἀναβάντα ἐκ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἄρχοντα πρώτον*, which occurs in a Samian decree (*Ath. Mitt.* xlv. 31). But the question involves considerable difficulties, and this is not the place in which to discuss it at length.<sup>5</sup> The verb *πρωταρχέω* is rare, but recurs in an inscription of Trajana Augusta (*I.G. Rom.* i. 750),<sup>6</sup> while the variant *πρωταρχοντεύω* is found at Chersonesus Taurica (*I.O.S.P.E.* iv. 105). The title *πρωτάρχων* is met with at Thera (*I.G.* xii. 3. 326), at Cyzicus (*I.G.* xii. 8. 189) and at Trapezopolis in Phrygia (*O.G.I.* 492): far more often, however, we find the phrases *πρώτος ἄρχων* (*I.G.* xii. 3. 481, 1119, xii. 7. 240, etc.), *α' ἄρχων* (*I.G. Rom.* i. 713, 749, etc.), *ἄρχων πρώτος* (*ib.* iv. 1249, 1294, etc.), *ἄρχων α'* (*ib.* 619), *πρωτολόγος ἄρχων* (*C.I.G.* 2760-4, etc.), *ἄρχων τὸν α' τόπον* (*I.G. Rom.* iii. 7),<sup>7</sup> *α' ἀρχῆς* (*ib.* i. 756), *ἄρξας τὴν πρώτην* (or *τὴν α'*)

<sup>5</sup> I. Levy, *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xii. 268 ff.; V. Chapot, *La Province Romaine d'Asie*, 237 ff.; W. Liebenam, *op. cit.* 558 f.; Keil and von Premerstein, *Bericht über eine Reise in Lydien*, No. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *πρωτόκοσμος, πρωτοκοσμών* in numerous Cretan texts (*I.G. Rom.* i. 979, 981, 983-1002, etc.).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *στοατηγήσας τὸν πρώτον τόπον* (*I.G. Rom.* iv. 585).

ἀρχὴν (*ib.* 564, 630, 631, etc.).<sup>8</sup> The office could be held by the same person thrice (*C.I.G.* 2760-2, 2799, *I.G. Rom.* i. 564, iv. 700) or even four times (*I.O.S.P.E.* i. 22).

Macedo had also distinguished himself by his liberality in giving 10,000 cubits of wood for the construction of the basilica at Thessalonica. For the formula ἐξ ὑποσχέσεως cf. *I.G. Rom.* iv. 242, *C.I.G.* 2713, *Liverpool Annals*, iv. 43; we also find κατὰ ὑπόσχεσιν (*e.g.* in Dumont, *Inscr. et Mon. Fig.* 61 c). With the whole phrase we may compare *C.I.G.* 3841 h (Aezani) δόντος εἰς αὐτὰς τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοδώρου ἀντὶ τῶν ξυλίνων . . . δηνάρια πεντακόσια. *I.G.* xii. 3. 324 (Thera) τὴν στοὰν ἐστέγασαν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τὴν τῶν ξύλων καὶ τῶν στρωτήρων ὕλην καὶ τὴν ἐπακολουθοῦσαν εἰς τὴν στέγην δαπάνην πᾶσαν παρασχόμενοι κατὰ δωρεὰν κτλ., *ib.* 326 εἰσὴ[γ]γειλεν . . . τὴν ἐν τῇ πόλει βασιλικὴν στοὰν . . . εἰ[κ] τῶν ἰδίων κατασκευάσειν . . . ἕκ τε τῆς περιλειπομένης ξυλικῆς ὕλ[ης τὸν δρ]ύφακτον . . . [κ]ατασ[κ]ευάσας [π]α[ρα]-δώσειν. See also *I.G.* xii. 2. 14 (Mytilene), *I.G. Rom.* iv. 556 (Ancyra). Of the various forms of timber used for constructional purposes we have a glimpse in *I.G.* xii. 9. 907 = *S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup> 905 (Chalcis, A.D. 359). The abbreviation πήχ. for πήχ(εις) recurs in *C.I.G.* 4693 (restored by Kubitschek, *Num. Zeit.* li. 68 f.) and 4863 (where πή. is also used), and is found in papyri (*e.g.* *Oxy. Pap.* 1450, 1742). I know no other reference to a basilica at Thessalonica. For the basilica in general see the articles *s.v.* by Flather and Purser in the *Dict. of Antiquities*, by Guadet in *Dar.-Sagl.* and by Mau in *Pauly-Wissowa*, iii. 83 ff. To the places at which the existence of basilicas is attested (Mau, 85) we may add, besides Thessalonica, Nauplia (*I.G.* iv. 674, A.D. 364-75), Thera? (xii. 3. 1651), Gortyn (*I.G. Rom.* i. 977), Philadelphia (*ib.* iv. 1637), Aphrodisias (*C.I.G.* 2826), Aezani (*O.G.I.* 511 = *I.G. Rom.* iv. 580, ca. A.D. 170), Bosoa? (*Princeton Univ. Arch. Exped. to Syria*, III. A. 701, A.D. 330), Djeneine (Le Bas-Wadd. 2189).

Macedo also served (l. 12 ff.) by 'divine,' *i.e.* Imperial, mandate as *curator* of Apollonia, not far from the point at which the river Aōus falls into the Adriatic Sea. The town, described by Strabo as εὐνομοτάτη (vii. p. 316), was an important one, lying almost immediately opposite to Brundisium and forming one of the starting-points (Dyrrhachium was the other) of the Via Egnatia. In order to distinguish it from other towns of the same name it was sometimes called ἡ ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ (Hdt. ix. 92, Ael. *V.H.* xiii. 16), ἡ πρὸς τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ (Dio Cass. xlv. 3 and here) or ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ (Paus. v. 22). For its history see Hirschfeld, *Pauly-Wissowa*, ii. 111 ff.; for the site and ruins of the ancient town Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, i. 368 ff., Heuzey-Daumet, *Mission Archéol. de Macédoine*, 393 ff., C. Praschniker u. A. Schober, *Archäol. Forschungen in Albanien u. Montenegro*, 69 ff., B. Pace, *Annuario*, iii. 287 f. Its coinage extends from the first half of the fourth century B.C.,

<sup>8</sup> Compare the phrases ἀρχας τὴν μεγίστην ἀρχὴν (*I.G. Rom.* iii. 61, 68, 69, etc.), ἀρχας τὴν ἐπώνυμον ἀρχὴν (*ib.* i. 759, iii. 407, 424, etc.), ἀρχων τὴν μεγίστην ἀρχὴν (*I.O.S.P.E.* i. 22). I do not understand

the μεγίστην καὶ ἐπώνυμον ἀρχὴν of Benndorff-Niemann, *Reisen in Lykien u. Karien*, No. 96: has the word ἀρχαντα slipped out before it?

or even earlier, to the reign of Geta (A. Maier, *Num. Zeit.* n. f. i. 1 ff.. Head, *H.N.*<sup>2</sup> 314).

For the title *λογιστής*, the Greek counterpart of *curator rei publicae* or *civitatis*, see my note, *J.H.S.* xxv. 44 f. To the general references there given Mancini's article *s.v.* *curator* in E. Ruggiero, *Dizionario Epigrafico*, ii. 1345 ff., and D. Magie, *De Romanorum iuris publici sacrique vocabulis*, 61, should be added. I append a corrected and supplemented list of places at which the office is found, to supersede the very defective list given in *J.H.S. loc. cit.* Though still, I fear, incomplete, it may perhaps prove useful.

I. MAINLAND GREECE (references to *I.G.*). Athens (iii. 10, *B.C.H.* xiv. 650), *liberae civitates* (iii. 631), Epidauros, Chaeronea, Coronea and Thebes (iii. 677), Troezen (iv. 796), Patrae (v. 1. 524), Arcadian Orchomenus (v. 2. 346), Tegea (v. 2. 152, 153), Corone (v. 1. 1398), Asine (v. 1. 1412), Chaeronea (vii. 3426), Amphissa (*C.I.L.* iii. 568).

II. THE ISLANDS. Histiaea (*I.G.* xii. 9. 1235), Andros (*I.G.* xii. 5. 758), Gortyn (*I.G. Rom.* i. 977).

III. ASIA MINOR AND CYPRUS (in alphabetical order: references to *I.G. Rom.* save where otherwise noted). Adanda (?) Ciliciae (*Mon. Ant.* xxiii. 168: see Rosenberg's note in *Hermes*, lv. 321), Alexandria Troas (iv. 1307), Antioch in Pisidia (iii. 304), Aphrodisias (*O.G.I.* 500, 509, *C.I.G.* 2791, *B.C.H.* ix. 71), Attalia (iii. 474, iv. 1168), Balbura (iii. 468), Bithynia (iii. 174-5 = *O.G.I.* 543: see Dittenberger's note), Cidyessus (Head, *H.N.*<sup>2</sup> 670), Citium (iii. 977), Cius (iii. 69), Cyzicus (*C.I.G.* 2782, *B.C.H.* xi. 349), Ephesus (*C.I.G.* 2977, *C.I.L.* ii. 4114, Orelli 798),<sup>9</sup> Eumenia (iv. 739), Hormoeteni (*B.C.H.* ix. 395), Iasus (*ib.* xi. 216), Iconium (iii. 264), Ilium (iv. 218), Julia Gordus (iv. 1294), Magnesia ad Maeandrum (*I.v. Magn.* 197), Magnesia sub Siplylo (iv. 1341, 1343), Nicaea (iii. 39 = *S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup> 895; iii. 40, *C.I.L.* v. 4341), Nicomedia (iii. 6, 63 = *O.G.I.* 528; *C.I.G.* 3773, *C.I.L.* ii. 4114, v. 4341, vi. 1408, Orelli 798), Oenoanda (iii. 491), Olba (iii. 849), Philadelphia (iv. 1642), Priene (*I.v. Priene*, 230), Sagalassus (iii. 440), Sardis (*J.H.S.* vi. 348), Smyrna (Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* i. 19), Synnada (Head, *H.N.*<sup>2</sup> 686), Termessus (iii. 440), Tira (iv. 1660, 1662, 1664-5), Trajanopolis (iv. 626), Tralles (*C.I.G.* 2926), a group of cities (*C.I.G.* 3497). The title *ἐπιμελητής*—a close translation of the Latin *curator*—is rarely substituted for *λογιστής*.<sup>10</sup>

IV. ELSEWHERE. Callatis (*I.G. Rom.* iii. 581), Histria (B. Pârvan, *Anal. Acad. Române*, II, xxxviii. 623 f., No. 27), Gerasa (*C.I.G. add.* 4662 b), Syria (*C.I.L.* x. 6006),<sup>11</sup> Palmyra (*I.G. Rom.* iii. 1048: cf. *Rev. Bibl.* xxix. 378 f.), Egypt (*C.I.G.* 5085, 5090, *Oxy. Pap.* 42, 52, 53, 66, 83-87, etc., *Acta S. Didymi et Theodoraë*, 28 Apr. 304). *C.I.G.* 6829 is of uncertain provenance, and *I.G.* xii. 3. 1119 speaks in general terms of πόλεων ἐπιφανεστάτων λογιστείας εὐράμενον.

The foregoing list excludes the financial officials who existed before the

<sup>9</sup> See J. Menadier, *Qua condicione Ephesii usi sint*, 86 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *O.G.I.* 492 (Trapezopolis in Phrygia),

A. Wilhelm, *Jahresh.* xii. 147 f. (Athens). Cf. W. Gurlitt, *Über Pausanias*, 237.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *C.I.L.* viii. 7039, 7059-60.

Imperial period in some of the Greek states,<sup>12</sup> as Athens. Delos. Aegiale on Amorgos (*I.G.* xii. 7. 515), Astypalaea (xii. 3. 168 = *S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup> 722), Ephesus (*S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup> 742), Eretria (*I.G.* xii. 9. 236), Halicarnassus (*B.M. Inscr.* 893 ?), Ios (*I.G.* xii. 5. 1005), Tenos (*ib.* 880-3, 885), Tragurium (J. Brunšmid, *Inscr. u. Münzen d. griech. Städte Dalmatiens*, p. 31). It also excludes λογισταί who supervised the finances of a σύνοδος, γερουσία or other body and not those of a whole city—e.g. at Clazomenae (*I.G. Rom.* iv. 1555), Dia (*ib.* iii. 1427), Egypt (*O.G.I.* 722), Ephesus (*O.G.I.* 508, *C.I.G.* 2987 b), Rhodes (*I.G.* xii. 1. 83, 155) and Tralles (*O.G.I.* 501).

But the most prominent place in Macedo's record is reserved for his offices as president of the Attic Panhellenion, priest of divine Hadrian and agonothetes of the Panhellenia (ll. 2-5), offices which clearly constituted his greatest distinction and shed most lustre on his city, no citizen of which had previously presided over the Panhellenes (ll. 6-8). The phrase *πρῶτον γενόμενον κτλ.*<sup>13</sup> usually occurs in the fuller form *μόνος καὶ πρῶτος* (e.g. *I.G. Rom.* iii. 69), or *μ. καὶ π.* (or *π. καὶ μ.*) *τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος* (e.g. *I.G.* iii. 129, *C.I.G.* 3208, *I.G. Rom.* iv. 1344, *Inscr. v. Magnesia*, 180), which in turn is expanded into *μ. καὶ π. τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ πατρίδος* in an inscription of Trajana Augusta (*Rev. Arch.* ii. 1915, 200). The title of the city also is comparatively simple. A letter from Thessalonica to the Delians in 240-30 B.C. begins *ἡ πόλις Θεσσαλονικέων Δηλίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν* (*I.G.* xi. 1053; F. Durrbach, *Choix d'inscr. de Délos*, 49), but later a title devoid of laudatory epithets no longer contented the Greek city. In an honorary inscription Thessalonica is called, as here, *ἡ λαμπροτάτη Θεσσαλονικέων* <ἡ> *πόλις* (*Ath. Mitt.* xxv. 117); elsewhere it is termed *ἡ λαμπρὰ μητρόπολις καὶ κολωνεία Θεσσαλονικέων πόλις* (*A.-E.M.* xvii. 118 = *Ath. Mitt.* xxii. 224), [*Θεσσα*]λονικαίων [*ἡ μ*]ητρόπολις [*καὶ κο*]λωνεία (*Dem.* 373), *ἡ [λαμ]πρὰ Θεσ[σαλο]νικαίων μ[η]τ[ρο]πο[λις] καὶ κ[ολωνεία]* (*B. ph. Woch.* xxxi. 597) or *ἡ Θεσσαλονικέων μ. καὶ κ.* (*ib.* xxii. 957). In commenting on the inscription *A.-E.M.* xvii. 118, Mommsen says that, to the best of his knowledge, Thessalonica is first called 'colony' on coins struck under Decius (*B.M.C. Macedonia*, p. 128), and though this is questioned by P. N. Papageorgiou on the strength of an inscription dated *ἔτους γ' Ϟ σ'* (*B. ph. Woch.* xxii. 957), I have little hesitation in reckoning this date by the Augustan era and so assigning the inscription to A.D. 261/2 (*B.S.A.* xxiv. 66). The absence of the title *κολωνεία* in Macedo's record thus enables us to date it with some confidence between A.D. 200 (see below) and 251, the close of Decius' reign.

The triple title given to Macedo seems to have been the full official designation of the president of the Panhellenion, for it recurs in almost the same terms in two letters sent by the Panhellenes, one to the council and people of Aezani, the other to the *concilium* of the province of Asia (*O.G.I.* 504, 507 = *I.G. Rom.* iv. 573, 576): both open with the formula *Ὁ ἀρχων τῶν*

<sup>12</sup> Cf. H. Swoboda, *Staatsaltertümer*, in K. F. Hermann's *Lehrbuch*, i.<sup>6</sup> 3. p. 153.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *I.G.* vii. 106 (Megara) *πρῶτον*

*Πανέλληνα*, which Dittenberger now interprets as 'the first Megarian to be appointed a Πανέλλην' (*O.G.I.* 504, note 1).



Πανελλήνων καὶ ἱερεὺς θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Πανελληνίου καὶ ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν μεγάλων Πανελληνίων (name) καὶ οἱ Πανέλληνες. Very similar is *I.G.* iii. 681, τὸν ἀρχο[ντα τῶν] σεμνο[τάτων Παν]ελλήνων[ν καὶ ἱερέα] θεοῦ Ἀδ[ριανοῦ Πανελ]ληνί[ου καὶ ἀγω]ν[ο]θ[έ]τ[ην τῶν Πανελλη]ν[ίων]. We may believe, with Dittenberger (*O.G.I.* 504, note 3), that normally the three offices were conjoined, though they are not always named together: e.g. in a Corinthian inscription of Hadrian's reign we meet an ἀρχον[τα τοῦ] Πανελληνίου καὶ ἱερέα Ἀδριανοῦ Πανελληνίου (*I.G.* iv. 1600), in an Epidaurian text we have an ἀρχοντα τοῦ ἀγῶνος τῶν Πα[νελληνίων] (*I.G.* iv. 1474),<sup>14</sup> and another ἀγωνοθέ[της τῶν μεγά]λων Πανελληνίων occurs in an Attic inscription of about A.D. 250 (*I.G.* iii. 1199).<sup>15</sup> The concluding words of a decree of the Panhellenes have been restored (*I.G.* ii.<sup>2</sup> 1088 = iii. 12) [ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν] Σεβαστῶν καὶ ἀρχων τοῦ σεμνοτάτου συνεδρίου τῶν Πανελλήνων] Τι. Κλ. Ἡ[ρώδης Ἀττικὸς Μαραθώνιος]. Philostratus refers to the tenure of the office by Herodes Atticus (ἐλειτούργησεν Ἀθηναίοις τήν τε ἐπώνυμον καὶ τὴν τῶν Πανελληνίων, *Vit. Soph.* ii. 1, 5), and by Rufus of Perinthus (τὴν τῶν Πανελληνίων Ἀθήνησιν εὐκλεῶς ἥρξεν, *ib.* ii. 17: cf. *I.G.* ii.<sup>2</sup> 1093 = iii. 17). For the priesthood of Hadrian see also *I.G. Rom.* iii. 20, 115 and *B.C.H.* xxxviii. 354; for the ἀγωνοθεσία see E. Reisch *ap.* Pauly-Wissowa, i. 870 ff., E. Saglio in *Dar.-Sagl.*, and the geographical list in W. Liebenam, *Städteverwaltung*, 542 ff. The frequent association of ἀγωνοθεσία and priesthood is illustrated by Dem. 55 ἀρχιερέως τῶν [Σεβασ]τῶν καὶ ἀγωνοθέ[του τοῦ κοινού] Μακεδόνων, 60 τὸν διὰ βίου ἀρχιερέα τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ ἀγωνοθέτην τ. κ. Μ., 367, 373, 811, 812, etc.

The word Πανέλληνες first appears as a comprehensive term for the Hellenes in Homer (*Il.* ii. 530),<sup>16</sup> Hesiod (*Op.* 526). Pindar (*Isth.* ii. 56, iii. (iv.) 48) and other authors (see Pape-Benseler, *Gr. Eigennamen*, s.v., and add *I.G.* xiv. 1294, and, I think, iii. 636), while the neuter τὸ Πανελλήνιον is used in the same sense (Eustath. pp. 18, 827, 1414). Πανελλήμιος was an epithet under which Zeus was worshipped in Aegina (Paus. i. 44, ii. 29, 30).<sup>17</sup> The name Πανέλληνες bears a more precise and restricted meaning in two Acraephian inscriptions (*I.G.* vii. 2711–2), the earlier of which belongs to about A.D. 37 and the later to the reign of Claudius or of Nero. These refer to a League bearing the full official title τὸ κοινὸν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Λοκρῶν καὶ Φωκέων καὶ Εὐβοέων (2711 ll. 1, 22), whose representative council (συνέδριον) met at Argos (2711 ll. 7, 101; 2712 l. 40). So long a title was unsuitable for general use, and it was variously abbreviated. Sometimes the term Ἀχαιοί is employed to represent the whole League (2711 ll. 50, 100; especially l. 119 ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν), sometimes Ἕλληνες is so used

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *I.G.* ii.<sup>2</sup> 1077 = iii. 10, ἀ[ντ]ἀρχοντος τοῦ ἱερωτάτου ἀγ[ῶ]νος τοῦ Πανελληνίου. In 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1894, 184 the title may have been abbreviated to the simple ἀρχων (see below).

<sup>15</sup> But the phrase τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην καὶ Πανέλληνα of an Acraephian text is rightly interpreted by Perdrizet 'agonothète des

Πρώια, et député d'Acraephiae au Panhellénion' (*B.C.H.* xxii. 246).

<sup>16</sup> The authenticity of the line has, however, been doubted in ancient and modern times.

<sup>17</sup> Roscher iii. 1533 f. The inscription *I.G.* iv. 1551 is undoubtedly spurious.

(2711 l. 13 πάντων τῶν Ἑλ[λήνων], l. 15 τῇ συνόδῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, l. 20 τὸ ψήφισμα τῶν Ἑλλήνων), but most frequently Πανελλήνες occurs in this sense (2711 ll. 10, 61, 67, 101 ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Πανελλήνων τῷ ἀχθέντι ἐν Ἀργεῖ: 2712 l. 45): once we meet with τῷ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Πανελλήνων συνεδρίῳ ἐν Ἀργεῖ (2712 l. 39). The Emperor Gaius permitted the continuance of the League (2711 l. 29 ἐὼς ὑμᾶς συνισταμένους), but of its subsequent history we know nothing with certainty, nor can we trace its relation to that League of Achaeans of which a fragmentary decree has survived, dating from A.D. 211–222 (*I.G.* ii.<sup>2</sup> 1094 = iii. 18).<sup>18</sup> C. G. Brandis (Pauly-Wissowa, i. 195 ff.) regards the κοινὸν of the Acraephian inscriptions as a temporary and *ad hoc* union for the purpose of congratulating Gaius upon his accession. He points to the absence from its title of all reference to various κοινά within the province of Achaea whose existence is attested in the Imperial period, and he emphasises the continued existence of the κοινὸν τῶν Φωκέων, the κοινὸν τῶν Βοιωτῶν and the κοινὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν. He sees a similar *ad hoc* combination in τὸ κοινὸν Βοιωτῶν Εὐβοέων Λοκρῶν Φωκέων Δωριέων, which honoured M. Junius Silanus, probably shortly before the battle of Actium (*I.G.* iii. 568 = *S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup> 767). His arguments, however, fail to convince me. The appearance of a στρατηγός (for the title in *I.G.* vii. 2711 l. 1 is restored with practical certainty) at the head of the union and the phrase above quoted from the Emperor's reply seem to me to point to greater permanence than Brandis allows. Nor does he, in my judgment, take sufficient account of the vague and elastic nature of the term κοινόν. That there should be a κοινὸν τῶν Βοιωτῶν, for example, continuing its separate existence and its individual action within the larger federation (κοινόν) seems to me a perfectly simple and natural supposition. But this is not the place in which to discuss more fully this intricate question, to which I hope to return on a future occasion.

Hadrian's third visit to Athens witnessed in all probability the dedication of the Olympieum and the foundation of the temple of Zeus Panhellenios.<sup>19</sup> with whom Hera appears to have been associated.<sup>20</sup> The account of Dio lxix. 16,

<sup>18</sup> Marquardt's conclusion (*Röm. Staatsverwaltung*<sup>2</sup> i. 513) seems to me very doubtful.

<sup>19</sup> Paus. i. 18, 9: cf. *I.G.* ii.<sup>2</sup> 1088 = iii. 13. An inscription found at the Epidaurian Asclepieum (*I.G.* iv. 1052 = *S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup> 842) proves that the dedication of the Olympieum and the foundation (κτίσις) of the Panhellenion belong to the same year. E. Kornemann, *Kaiser Hadrian*, 55, refers this to A.D. 128 9 (cf. J. Durr, *Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian*, 44, n. 202), but this involves the alteration of an η' in the inscription into ι'. W. Weber (*Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, 208) assigns the two events to 131/2, and his

reasoning is accepted by F. Hiller von Gaertringen (*S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup> 842) and by P. Graindor (*Chronologie des Archontes*, 130 f., 261). W. Gurlitt, *Über Pausanias*, 278 f., 328 ff., argues conclusively against the identification by G. Hirschfeld of the Olympieum with the Panhellenion.

<sup>20</sup> This seems to follow from the words of Pausanias, *loc. cit.*, though Hitzig and Blumner in their commentary think that Hera may have had a separate temple. See C. Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, i. 690, W. Gurlitt, *op. cit.* 276. That the Empress Sabina was identified with Hera is a probable conjecture (W. Weber, *op. cit.* 272, note 994).

τόν τε σηκὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ, τὸ Πανελλήνιον ὠνομασμένον, οἰκοδομήσασθαι τοῖς "Ελλησιν ἐπέτρεψε, is not quite clear, but probably means that from the outset the temple was regarded as shared between Zeus and his earthly vicerent.<sup>21</sup> In any case, the encouragement of the cult of Panhellenian Zeus led to the assimilation of the Emperor to the god, and he added to the title Ὀλύμπιος, which he had borne sporadically since A.D. 128/9, that of Πανελλήνιος.<sup>22</sup> At the same time the Emperor enhanced the dignity and brilliance of Athens by making it the capital of a new union of Greek states, termed the Πανελλήνιον, which, though devoid of political significance, served to unite the Greeks, both European and Asiatic, and to revive the memories of the great civilising mission of Hellenism in the past.<sup>23</sup> At its head stood a council (συνέδριον), composed of representatives of the states comprised in the union, and presided over by the ἄρχων, whose title we have already discussed. This was termed [τὸ συνέδριον τὸ Πανε]λλήνιον (*I.G.* ii.<sup>2</sup> 1088 = iii. 12), [τὸ σεμνότατ]ον Πανε[λλήνων συνέδριον] (ii.<sup>2</sup> 1090 = iii. 15), [τὸ σεμνότατον συν]έδριον [τῶν Πανελλήνων] (ii.<sup>2</sup> 1092 l. 2),<sup>24</sup> or, more shortly, τὸ Πανελλήνιον (*I.G.* iv. 1600, xiv. 829 = *O.G.I.* 497, *O.G.I.* 506; possibly also *I.G.* ii.<sup>2</sup> 1093 = iii. 17),<sup>25</sup> τὸ κοινὸν τοῦ Πανελληνίου (*O.G.I.* 504 l. 11), οἱ σεμνότατοι Πανέλληνες (*I.G.* iii. 681), or simply οἱ Πανέλληνες.<sup>26</sup> Each member (σύνηςδρος, *C.I.G.* 3841: cf. *συνεδρεία*, *O.G.I.* 504 l. 7) of the council was entitled Πανέλλην, and the post was regarded as a high distinction (*I.G.* ii.<sup>2</sup> 1368 = *S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup> 1109 and note 67). The following list shows the names and states of the Πανέλληνες known to us from inscriptions and literature: those who occupied the presidential chair are asterisked.

<sup>21</sup> G. F. Hertzberg, *Gr. Gesch.* ii. 323 f.; F. Gregorovius, *Kaiser Hadrian*, 477; H. Schiller, *Gesch. d. röm. Kaiserzeit*, i. 625. Dittenberger, however, held (*O.G.I.* 504 note 6) 'superstite quidem principe [Hadriano] Iovis fuisse delubrum et sacerdotium, post obitum vero ad Divum Hadrianum alterum Iovem Panhellenium translata.'

<sup>22</sup> *I.G.* [ii.<sup>2</sup> 1088 = iii. 12], iii. [485], 681, iv. 1600, v. 2. 127, vii. 70, [71], 72; *B.M. Inscr.* 501 [Ὀλύμπιον καὶ Πανελλήνιον καὶ Πανιώνιον; *O.G.I.* 504, 507; Head, *H.N.*<sup>2</sup> 321. About the same time we find at Ephesus a list of persons who celebrated mysteries in honour of Dionysus, Zeus Panhellenios and Hephaestus (*B.M. Inscr.* 600). Cf. *B.C.H.* xiv. 529.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. W. M. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, p. 430. Hadrian's attitude reminds us of the words penned by the younger Pliny, *Ep.* viii. 24. 2-4.

<sup>24</sup> The same phrase is restored in *I.G.* ii.<sup>2</sup> 1088 = iii. 12 *ad fin.*

<sup>25</sup> Only in the Thessalonian inscription is it called τὸ Ἀττικὸν Πανελλήνιον. The exact sense of Πανελλήνιον in *I.G.* ii.<sup>2</sup> 1093 = iii. 17 and ii.<sup>2</sup> 1107 = iii. 33 is uncertain owing to the mutilation of these texts. The phrase καὶ ἐκ Πανελληνίου οὐθέν (iii. 1141) is an unsolved enigma. I cannot accept Dittenberger's interpretation of Πανελλήνιον in *S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup> 842 = *I.G.* iv. 1052 as 'concilium splendidissimum omnium Graecarum civitatum ab Hadriano Athenis institutum.' To my mind it refers to the temple of Zeus Panhellenios.

<sup>26</sup> *I.G.* ii.<sup>2</sup> 1091 = iii. 16 = *O.G.I.* 503; ii.<sup>2</sup> 1092 l. 6, iii. 85, 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1894, 184, No. 29, Πρακτικά, 1887, 54, *O.G.I.* 504 ll. 1, 3, 506, 507 ll. 1, 3. The curious phrase τὴν πολιτείαν τῶν Συνπανελλήνων (*O.G.I.* 507 l. 9) is unparalleled and seems to refer to the constituent states rather than to their delegates met in council: cf. *συνπεπολιτευμένον ἡμεῖν* (*O.G.I.* 504 l. 6).

Name.	State.	Period.	Reference.
*Titus Flavius Cyllus. . .	?	A.D. 156	<i>O.G.I.</i> 504.
*Claudius Jason.	?	A.D. 157	<i>O.G.I.</i> 507.
*Tiberius Claudius Herodes Atticus.	Athens	A.D. 131-38	<i>I.G.</i> ii. <sup>2</sup> 1088; Philostr. <i>Vit. Soph.</i> ii. 1. 5.
M. Aurelius Alcamenes. <sup>27</sup>	..	A.D. 209-10	<i>I.G.</i> ii. <sup>2</sup> 1077.
*Al. . . . <sup>28</sup>	.. (?)	A.D. 251 '2 (?)	<i>I.G.</i> iii. 1199.
Cn. Cornelius Pulcher.	Corinth	Hadrian	<i>I.G.</i> iv. 1600.
T. Statilius Timocrates Memnianus.	Argos	„	<i>I.G.</i> iv. 590.
Dionysius Pathas (?)	Methana	—	<i>I.G.</i> iv. 858.
Bassus Allenus.	Epidaurus	—	<i>I.G.</i> iv. 1474.
Corinthas Nicephori f.	Sparta	3rd cent.	<i>I.G.</i> v. 1. 45.
Spendon Spendontis f.	„	„	<i>I.G.</i> v. 1. 47.
Xenagoras.	„	—	<i>I.G.</i> v. 1. 164.
Pasicrates.	„	—	<i>I.G.</i> v. 1. 164.
C. Curtius Proculus.	Megara	—	<i>I.G.</i> vii. 106.
Coranus.	Pagae?	—	<i>I.G.</i> vii. 192.
Heraclitus Heracliti f.	„	—	<i>I.G.</i> vii. 192.
Paramonus Aphrodisii f.	Acraephia	—	<i>B.C.H.</i> xxii. 246.
M. Ulpius Damasippus. <sup>29</sup>	Phocis	Septimius Severus or Caracalla	<i>I.G.</i> ix. 1. 218; <i>Πρακτικά</i> , 1909, 130.
*T. Aelius Geminius Macedo.	Thessalonica	A.D. 199, 200	Present inscription.
*Aurelius (?) Rufus.	Perinthus	Antonines	Philostr. <i>Vit. Soph.</i> ii. 17; <i>I.G.</i> ii. <sup>2</sup> 1093.
M. Ulpius Apuleius Eurycles.	Aezani	A.D. 156?	<i>O.G.I.</i> 504, 506, 507.
P. Claudius Dionysius.	„	Hadrian	<i>C.I.G.</i> 3841.
Primus?	Apamea	—	<i>I.G. Rom.</i> iv. 801.
M. Julius Praxis.	Apollonia (Cyrenaica)	A.D. 172-75	<i>I.G.</i> iii. 534.

To this list I am inclined to add the name of \*Flavius Amphicles from an Eleusinian dedication, probably of the reign of Hadrian or Pius, which runs Οἱ ἐπὶ Φλαουίου Ἀμφικλέους ἀρχοντος Πανελλήνηες ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Δημητρείου καρποῦ ἀπαρχῆς (Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1894, 184, No. 29). Graindor, indeed, regards Amphicles as eponymous Athenian archon (*Chronologie des Archontes*, 131 f.), but there is no other evidence for an archon of that name, and the word may here be used in place of the fuller title ἀρχων τοῦ Πανελληνίου or τῶν Πανελλήνων.<sup>30</sup> If this is so, it seems to me not unlikely that the Amphicles in question

<sup>27</sup> I assume that Alcamenes, as ἀντάρχων of the Panhellenia, was a Πανέλλην.

<sup>28</sup> I have assumed that Al. . . . being ἀγνοομένης of the Great Panhellenia, was also ἀρχων τοῦ Πανελληνίου.

<sup>29</sup> According to *Πρακτικά*, 1909, 129, 130, M. Julius Damasippus. He would appear to have been a citizen of the three Phocian towns of Anticyra, Amphiclia and Tithoronium: see *I.G.* ix. 1. 8.

<sup>30</sup> The order of the words seems to me to point to this conclusion. A Panhellenic

body would hardly designate itself by the name of a local archon, and if the archon's name was required for purposes of dating, the phrase ἐπὶ . . . ἀρχοντος would, I think, have stood at the beginning or at the end of the inscription. I cannot resist a suspicion that another archon's name may lurk beneath the enigmatic ἀρίστα[ν] of the similar Eleusinian text. *I.G.* iii. 85. Cf. Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1894, 184, No. 30; Weber, *op. cit.* 273 and note 1002.

is Amphilches of Chalcis, said by Philostratus (*Vit. Soph.* ii. 8, 10) to have been one of Herodes Atticus' best pupils (cf. *S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup> 1240, P. Graindor, *op. cit.* 132 note 1). What is more likely than that Herodes Atticus, himself one of the earliest presidents of the Panhellenion, should have been followed in the office not only by his friend and pupil Rufus of Perinthus but also by Amphilches of Chalcis?

We cannot determine the number of states composing the Panhellenic union. It may, I think, be assumed that most or all of the states which figure in the above list were members, and there is evidence that the same is also true of Thyatira (*I.G.* ii.<sup>2</sup> 1088 = iii. 12, 13), Cibyra (xiv. 829 = *O.G.I.* 497), Magnesia ad Maeandrum (ii.<sup>2</sup> 1091 = iii. 16 = *O.G.I.* 503) and possibly Sardis (ii.<sup>2</sup> 1089). Part of the decree survives by which the Panhellenes granted to Magnesia its certificate of membership, and a votive offering set up by the state of Cibyra [κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τ[ο]ῦ Πανελληνίου ἐνγραφείσα εἰς τοὺς Πανέλληνας] (*O.G.I.* 497, restored by Dittenberger) relates to a similar occasion. In both cases the pure Hellenic descent of the state is emphasised, and doubtless the same qualification was demanded of all applicants seeking admission.<sup>31</sup>

Several texts attest the close relations existing between the Panhellenes and the Eleusinian sanctuary, but of their exact nature we are not informed.<sup>32</sup> Nor are we told whether the council consisted of one representative of each state or whether, as is antecedently probable, the larger and more influential states sent several *σύνεδροι*. In support of the latter view we may note the fact that at Pagae two Panhellenes united in a dedication (*I.G.* vii. 192), while a list of ἐπιστάται τῆς ἀναθέσεως at Sparta contains the names of at least two, and apparently of four, Panhellenes (v. 1. 164). Nor, again, do we know how long the Panhellenes held office. Dittenberger was convinced that the presidency of the Panhellenion was an annual office (*O.G.I.* 504 note 4),<sup>33</sup> but P. Graindor strikes a note of caution in his assertion that 'il est seulement probable et non certain que les fonctions de synèdre des Panhellènes étaient annuelles' (*op. cit.* 138 note 3). Perhaps each state in the union settled the question as it liked, and though, at least in democratically organised states, annual election would probably be in favour, it is almost certain that to an office which must involve considerable expense there was an unlimited right of re-election. No argument can be drawn from the phrase ἐν τῇ ἡ' Πανελληνιάδι, which denotes a year and not a period of four years (Graindor, *op. cit.* 255).

One of the chief functions of the Panhellenes was to conduct the festival of the Panhellenia, instituted by Hadrian in connexion with the foundation

<sup>31</sup> A. von Domaszewski, *Gesch. d. röm. Kaiser*, ii. 201, Weber, *op. cit.* 272 f.

<sup>32</sup> *I.G.* ii.<sup>2</sup> 1092, iii. 85, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1894, 184, No. 29, *πρακτικά*, 1887, 54. Cf. A. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, 169 note 2, W. Weber, *op. cit.* 273 f.

<sup>33</sup> One difficulty seems to have passed

unnoticed. Cyllus and Jason, though apparently presidents in successive years, both bear the title ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν μεγάλων Πανελληνίων (*O.G.I.* 504, 507), which should only be held by every fourth president if the office is annual and the Great Panhellenia are a pentaeteric festival.

of the Panhellenion.<sup>34</sup> According to R. Neubauer (*Comment. Epigr.* 52) and A. Mommsen (*Feste der Stadt Athen.* 168 ff.), it was modelled on the Eleutheria, which since 479 B.C. had been celebrated every four years at Plataea in commemoration of the Greek victory over Mardonius; A. Mommsen, however, points out (p. 168 note 6) that Neubauer was certainly at fault in holding that the Eleutheria were renamed by Hadrian and transplanted to Athens.<sup>35</sup> The Πανελλήνια—which bear the epithet *μεγάλα* in the inscription of Thessalonica, in *I.G.* iii. 1199, *O.G.I.* 504, 507, and probably in *I.G.* ii.<sup>2</sup> 1093 = iii. 17—are frequently mentioned, especially in the records of victories won by athletes and others (*I.G.* iii. 32, 128, 129, 1184, xiv. 739), usually with an explicit reference to Athens (*I.G.* iii. 127, 128, vii. 49, xiv. 1102. *Inscr.* v. *Olymp.* 237, *B.M. Inscr.* 611, 613, 615, *I.G. Rom.* iii. 370).<sup>36</sup> The title was reminiscent of the ancient contest reputed to have been founded by Hellen in 1520 B.C. (*I.G.* xii. 5. 444 vi.). Of the character of the festival literature gives no details and inscriptions but few; we may, however, conjecture that it followed closely the customary, more or less stereotyped lines.<sup>37</sup> We hear of boys' contests (*B.M. Inscr.* 613, 615), and of competitions of runners (*ib.* 611, 613, *I.G. Rom.* iii. 370), wrestlers (*I.G.* xiv. 739), boxers (iii. 128, *B.M. Inscr.* 615?), *παγκρατιασταί* (*I.G.* xiv. 1102) and heralds (iii. 129, *Inscr.* v. *Olymp.* 237). There are reasons for supposing that the Panhellenia were first celebrated in A.D. 131/2 and thereafter took place annually, early in the month Metageitnion: the use of the epithet *μεγάλα* (*v. supra*) suggests that, like the Panathenaea and certain other festivals, they were celebrated with special pomp and splendour every fourth year.<sup>38</sup> If this is so, the festival over which

<sup>34</sup> Dio Cass. lxix. 16 ἀγῶνα ἐπ' αἰτῇ κατεστήσατο; Hieron. *ad Abr.* 2148 *Hadrianus agonem edidit*. Cf. W. Weber, *op. cit.* note 736; E. Cahen *ap. Dar.-Sagl. s.v.*

<sup>35</sup> I cannot accept T. Mommsen's identification (*Provinces of the Rom. Empire*, i. 266) of the κοινὸν συνέδριον τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν εἰς Πλατῆας συνιόντων (*I.G.* vii. 2509 = *S.I.G.*<sup>2</sup> 393) with the Hadrianic Panhellenion. I further agree with Dittenberger (*O.G.I.* 497 note 5) in declining to identify τὸ κοινὸν τῆς Ἑλλάδος (*I.G.* xiv. 829) with the Panhellenion, as is done by T. Mommsen (*loc. cit.*) and R. Cagnat (*I.G. Rom.* i. 418).

<sup>36</sup> The references in *I.G.* iii. 681, 682 are doubtful. *I.G.* ii.<sup>2</sup> 1077 = iii. 10 refers to δ ἱερώτατος ἀγῶν δ Π[ανελλήνιος], iv. 1474 to δ ἀγῶν τῶν Πα[νελληνίων]. The legend Πανελλήνια appears on some Attic coins of the third century (Head, *H.N.*<sup>2</sup> 390).

<sup>37</sup> For the programmes of the leading Greek festivals see T. Klee, *Zur Geschichte der gymnischen Agone*. 20 ff.

<sup>38</sup> A. Mommsen, *loc. cit.*, P. Graindor, *op. cit.* 261 f. Professor Graindor has

kindly confirmed this view in a private letter, from which I quote these words: 'Comme les Panathénées, les Panhellenia se célébraient certainement *chaque* année mais aussi, avec plus de solennité, tous les cinq ans: c'est, du moins, ce que me paraît résulter, de toute évidence, de l'emploi de l'expression *μεγάλα Πανελλήνια*.' Further evidence for the annual recurrence of the ἀγῶν may, I think, be found in *B.M. Inscr.* 613, which records three victories won at that festival in boys' races. For the reorganisation of the Panathenaea under Hadrian see Graindor, *B.C.H.* xxxviii. 396 ff., *Chronologie*, 253 ff. Pentaeteric festivals were common under the Empire: see, e.g., *I.G. Rom.* iii. 61, 67, 1422, 1423 οἱ μεγάλοι πενταετηρικοὶ ἀγούσταιοι ('Ανταγνίταιοι) ἀγῶνες at Prusias, *ib.* 319, 804 οἱ μεγάλοι π. Καισάρηοι ἀγῶνες at Apollonia and Aspendus, *ib.* 487 τὰ π. μεγάλα ἰσολύμπια Θέσπασιάνεια at Oenoanda, *ib.* iv. 579, 858, *C.I.G.* 2987 b, etc. A. Wilhelm, *Die penteterischen Feste der Athener* (*Anzeiger d. Akad. in Wien*, 1895, ix.) is inaccessible to me.

Macedo presided, the eighteenth of the pentaeteric series (l. 5), would be that of A.D. 199/200. The word *Πανελληνιάς* is new, but is formed on the analogy of *Ὀλυμπιάς*, *Πυθιάς*, etc. Cf. *I.G.* v. 1. 479 *ἀγωνοθέτης τῆς δευτέρας Ὀλυμπιάδος*, 659 *νεικήσας παίδων πάλην Οὐραυιάδα τρίτην*, xiv. 1102 *νεικήσας Ὀλύμπια* (Alexandrina) *πανκράτιον Ὀλυμπιάδι ἕκτην*, *Ath. Mitt.* viii. 325 *νεικ[ήσ]αντα παίδων πάλην Ὀλυμπιάδα να'*, etc.

I cannot determine the meaning of *ράψαντα* in l. 5 of the Thessalonian inscription. It is hard to resist the conclusion that the copyist has been at fault here, yet no convincing correction suggests itself. Is it possible that Macedo may have been a kind of poet laureate to the Imperial house? Cf. [Hesiod] *fr.* 265 *ἐν Δήλῳ τότε πρῶτον ἐγὼ καὶ Ὀμηρος ἀοιδοὶ μέλπομεν ἐν νεαροῖς ὕμνοις ράψαντες ἀοιδὴν Φοῖβον*.

## II. TWO UNPUBLISHED EPITAPHS FROM GALATISTA.

To the kindness of Mr. A. J. B. Wace I owe copies of the two following inscriptions.

1. At Galatista, by a spring. Grave stele of marble: .25 m. × .41 m., letters .02 m. Above the inscription is a decorated gable and below it are two broken rosettes. Date, probably second century B.C.

### ΛΕΜΩΝΙΠΠΟΝΙΚΟΥ

[Πο]λέμων Ἰππονίκου.

The name *Πολέμων* occurs in an inscription of Amphipolis dating from the Macedonian period (*S.I.G.*<sup>2</sup> 832, Dem. 848) and in an epitaph (Dem. 150) found between Yanitsa and Vodena (Edessa). It also appears in Leake's copy of the pre-Roman inscription of Aivatli (Lete) published *C.I.G.* 1967 *b* (Dem. 677), but the reading is doubtful (see *B.S.A.* xxiii. 94, No. 19). *Ἰππονίκος* is found in G. P. Oikonomos, *Ἐπιγραφαὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας*, 26 No. 42.

2. At Galatista, in a house. Grave monument (*cippus*): .55 m. × .33 m., letters .04 m. with traces of red paint in them.

ΚΑΙΑΥ  
ΗΙΑΕΛΠ  
ΙΣΑΡΗΛΙΜ  
ΑΝΕΙΚΗΤΜΤ  
ΜΓΛΥΚΥΤΑΤ  
ΜΤΕΚΜΕΚΤΜ  
ΝΚΟΙΜΝΙΟΓΜ  
ΝΜΝΕΙΑΣΧΑΡ

- - - καὶ Αὐ-  
[ρ]ηλία Ἐλπ-  
ῖς Ἀρηλίῳ  
Ἀνείκῃτῳ τ-  
ὃ ᾧ γλυκυτάτ-  
ῳ τέκνῳ ἐκ τῶ-  
ν κοινῶν κόπω-  
ν μνείας χάρι-  
[τι].

The illiterate character of this inscription, which probably falls in the third century of our era, is shown by the persistent disregard of the syllabic division of the lines. I know no other example of the use of Μ, in place of Ω, to denote ω. The omission of the υ in Ἀρηλίω (l. 3) may be a mere error, or it may reflect the popular pronunciation at the period: the representation of αυ by α is specially frequent in the word ἐατόν, etc.; see *B.S.A.* xxiii. 71, K. Meisterhans, *Grammatik d. att. Inschr.*<sup>3</sup> 154, note 1318; E. Schweizer, *Grammatik d. Pergamen. Inschr.* 91; E. Mayser, *Grammatik d. griech. Papyri*, 114 f. Mr. G. F. Hill has kindly drawn my attention to the occurrence of the form ΑΡΗΑΙ on coins of Trajana Augusta (*B.M.C. Thrace*, 178, No. 12) and of Marcianopolis (F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands*, i. 1. 213 f., Nos. 614–21) dating from Caracalla's reign. The names Ἑλπίς (Dem. 44, 627) and Ἀνείκητος (Dem. 1, 727, 786, *B.C.H.* xxxv. 238) occur elsewhere in Macedonia. For the phrase ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν κόπων see *B.S.A.* xxiii. 83: the epitaph must have begun with a reference to the father of the dead.

Mr. Wace also copied a *cippus* at Galatista, close to that published in *B.S.A.* xxiii. 84, No. 12: .47 m. × 1.3 m., letters .02 m. This proves to be Dem. 785, published by Duchesne (*Archives des Missions Scient.* III. iii, No. 125) but apparently much damaged in recent years. Mr. Wace's version of l. 2 (ΟΜΙΤΩΤΕΚΝΩΝΙ in place of Duchesne's ΔΟΜΙΤΙΩΣΕΒΒΙΩΝΙ) is worth noting.

### III. ΗΡΩΙ ΗΡΟΠΥΘΩΙ

In a recent number of the *Revue de Philologie* (xlii. 60 ff.) M. Paul Foucart published the above text from a squeeze, which he found among a collection left to him by Charles Blondel, sometime member of the French School at Athens. It bore no indication of provenance, but the lettering suggested that the inscription belonged to the second half of the fourth century B.C. This early date and the position of the word ἥρωι preceding the proper name with which it is associated seem to M. Foucart to prove that we have to do not with an epitaph but with a dedication to a 'true hero' Heropythus, and he proceeds to develop the theory that this was the same Heropythus who is spoken of by Arrian (*Anab.* i. 17. 11) in a passage which describes how, on the advent of Alexander the Great in 334, the Ephesian democrats τοὺς τὴν εἰκόνα τὴν Φιλίππου τὴν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ (τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος) καταβαλόντας καὶ τὸν τάφον ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀνορύξαντας τὸν Ἡροπύθου τοῦ ἐλευθερώσαντος τὴν πόλιν ὥρμησαν ἀποκεῖναι. Arrian does not, it is true, refer to Heropythus as having received the title and worship of a hero, but what is more likely than that the liberator of the city should be honoured not only with a tomb in the market-place but also with heroic worship? The case of Brasidas affords a striking parallel.<sup>39</sup> Hence M. Foucart naturally concludes that 'l'inscription

<sup>39</sup> Thuc. v. 11 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὸν Βρασίδαν . . . δημοσίᾳ ἔθαψαν ἐν τῇ πόλει πρὸ τῆς νῦν ἀγορᾶς οὔσης· καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οἱ Ἀμφιπολίται . . . ὡς ἥρωϊ τε ἐντέμνουσι καὶ τιμὰς δεδῶκασιν . . . καὶ

τὴν ἀποικίαν ὡς οἰκιστῇ προσέθεσαν . . . νομίσαντες τὸν μὲν Βρασίδαν σωτῆρά τε σφῶν γεγενῆσθαι κτλ.



que nous venons d'étudier provient du premier ou du second héroon d'Héropythos' (p. 61).

I hesitate to call in question so attractive a theory, set forth with such skill and cogency and supported by the weight of M. Foucart's authority: but I think it right to draw attention to certain facts which to my mind tell powerfully against it. The inscription was not, as M. Foucart thought, previously unpublished. It was edited by Duchesne in his 'Mission au Mont Athos,'<sup>40</sup> and, twenty years later, by M. G. Demitsas ('*Ἡ Μακεδονία*, i. 636, No. 766). Duchesne placed it among the inscriptions of Potidaea-Cassandra and noted that it was found 'au métokhi du couvent de Dokhiarion,' and though it may possibly have been brought by sea from Ephesus to Chalcidice,<sup>41</sup> such a supposition is unlikely in itself and unsupported by any evidence. Further, Duchesne expressly describes it as a 'stèle funéraire carrée,' and adds that 'le bas-relief représente un banquet funèbre.' In view of this explicit statement of the only scholar who has described the monument, we must, I think, regretfully abandon M. Foucart's view, since he certainly knew nothing of its find-spot and of the accompanying relief. Blondel, who died<sup>42</sup> on 16th September, 1873, must have seen the stone before Duchesne, whose mission extended from February to June, 1874; that Blondel paid at least one visit to Chalcidice is certain.<sup>43</sup>

So far we have reached only a negative result, nor can I maintain with confidence any positive conclusion. It is possible that, even if the connexion with Ephesus disappears, we have here a dedication to 'un héros véritable': the inscription, that is, may be similar to the votive relief inscribed *Κυρίῳ Ἡρωί Ἡρακλ[εῖ]* found at Drama and published by S. Merdjidis.<sup>44</sup> But Duchesne's description of the monument and the absence of any other mention of a hero Heropythus in Macedonia or Thrace are serious difficulties in the way of such a theory. Two alternatives then remain for consideration.

(1) Hero may be a feminine proper name and the stone may commemorate jointly Hero and Heropythus. 'Ἡρώ is familiar as a personal name and occurs in an epitaph from Athos which apparently precedes the Roman period and in another from Amphipolis which belongs to the age of the Antonines.<sup>45</sup>

(2) It seems to me, however, more probable that we have here an early example of the application to the dead of the term *ἥρωες*, 'appellation devenue banale à l'époque gréco-romaine' (Foucart, *loc. cit.*). So far as I can judge,

<sup>40</sup> *Archives des Missions Scient.* III. iii. 270, No. 115 (Paris, 1876).

<sup>41</sup> E.g., an inscription from Cape Taenarum was found in the island of Syme (*I.G.* v. 1. 1233).

<sup>42</sup> G. Radet, *L'Histoire et l'Oeuvre de l'École Française d'Athènes*, 457.

<sup>43</sup> Radet, *op. cit.* 325, 'en classant les papiers de Blondel, Foucart avait remarqué des scolies qui portaient l'indice de la bibliothèque conventuelle du monastère de Vatopédi.'

<sup>44</sup> *Ἑρυναι καὶ μελέται τοπογραφ.καί* (Athens,

1885). See also Dem. 1064. Cf. the Thracian dedications *κυρίῳ Ἡρωί* (Dumont, *Inscr. et Mon. Fig. de la Thrace*, Nos. 24, 32, 39).

<sup>45</sup> The earlier inscription is published, after Leake, *C.I.G.* 2007 l, Le Bas 1416, Dem. 775, the later *B.C.H.* xviii. 425, Dem. 863. The objection that we should have 'Ἡροί on the stone is strong, but not to my mind fatal. *Μαντῶ* is found as a dative at Thessalonica (*C.I.G.* 1989, Dem. 486), and the *Ἡρώ: Δυσάνδρου* of an epitaph at Aix (*C.I.G.* 6954) may perhaps afford a parallel.

the inscription Τιμοζήλωι Δαφναίου ἥρωι from Salonica, which also accompanies a relief representing a funeral banquet, is likewise comparatively early,<sup>46</sup> and I am inclined to assign to the pre-Roman period several other Macedonian inscriptions which use the term ἥρωις.<sup>47</sup> As regards the order of the words, our example may go back to a time when no stereotyped tradition existed, and even later, when usage had created such a tradition, we find occasional deviations from it, as in Duchesne 68 (*J.H.S.* viii. 365, No. 8. Dem. 435) 'Ἡρωὶ Πατροβίω τῷ γλυκυτάτῳ τέκνῳ κτλ.<sup>48</sup> Although at first sight there may seem to be an impassable gulf fixed between the semi-divine heroes of the Greek mythology and the humble folk, sometimes slaves or even children, who in later times received heroic honours, yet it must be remembered that, once an unquestionably human being was heroised for outstanding services,—the founding of a colony, maybe, or the liberation of a state,—there was no means of defining precisely the nature or value of the services justifying the bestowal of this honour. Consequently the 'héros véritable' shades off imperceptibly into the rank and file of the ἥρωες. What service Heropythus had rendered to his community we have no means of determining. An interesting review of the multiplication of heroes in the historical period is given by Eitrem in Pauly-Wissowa, viii. 1134 ff., and by Deneken in Roscher, i. 2516 ff., but the best general review of the whole subject will be found in P. Foucart, *Le Culte des Héros chez les Grecs* (Paris, 1918), and L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults* (Oxford, 1921).<sup>49</sup>

A few words may be added on a point to which M. Foucart does not allude in his article. The liberator of Ephesus is named Ἡρόπυθος by Arrian, *loc. cit.*, and this name, though rare, is usually retained, being known,<sup>50</sup> e.g., as that of a Colophonian writer (Athen. vii. 297 E). of one or two Chians (*G.D.I.* 5656–7) and of a Magnesian (*S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup> 685), and appearing also in the decrees inserted in Demosthenes xviii. 164, 165. Roth, however, would substitute Ἡροφύτου for Ἡροπύθου on the strength of a passage of Polyaeus (*Strat.* vii. 23. 2), in which Mausolus is spoken of as ἐς Πύγελα παριὼν ὡς δεδιώς Ἡρόφυτον Ἐφέσιον. It is almost certain that Polyaeus and Arrian refer to the same man, but it would seem that, if any change is to be made, it should be in the text of Polyaeus, where Ἡρόφυτον is Roth's conjectural restoration of the Προφυτόν of the archetypal manuscript F.

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<sup>46</sup> Duchesne, *op. cit.* 246, No. 77 (Dem. 533): Duchesne calls it 'assez ancien.'

<sup>47</sup> Dem. 23, 145, 150, and perhaps also 870.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. also Delacoulonche, *Revue des Sociétés Savantes*, v. (Paris, 1858) 795, No. 43 (Dem. 67).

<sup>49</sup> For the funeral banquet on grave-stelae see P. Gardner, *J.H.S.* v. 107 ff. and Deneken, *op. cit.* i. 2571 ff.

<sup>50</sup> The names Δηρόπυθος and Μητρόπυθος also occur: names with Πυθο- as their first element are very common (F. Bechtel, *Historische Personennamen des Griechischen*).

## NOTES ON THE ἀριστεία OF THEBES

### I. THE SPARTAN FORCES AT LEUCTRA

ACCORDING to the calculations of Busolt, whose elaborate essay on the Spartan army may be regarded as the standard work on this subject, the forces which King Cleombrotus took into action at Leuctra consisted of four out of the six *μόραι*, each containing 35 out of the 40 service classes, and 300 *ἱππεῖς*, or Guards.<sup>1</sup>

That 35 classes were mobilised for the campaign of Leuctra is directly attested by Xenophon<sup>2</sup> and cannot be called into question. That four out of the six *μόραι* took part in the battle is an inference from another passage in Xenophon, which states that *three years previously* Cleombrotus was despatched to Central Greece with four *μόραι*.<sup>3</sup>

This inference is only valid if we may assume that the Spartan forces in Phocis were maintained at undiminished strength from 374 to 371 B.C. But such an assumption is hardly justified. A priori it is unlikely that a force representing some 60 per cent. of the entire military establishment of Sparta should have been marooned in Central Greece for three years on end. The Spartan government was of necessity most economical in the use of its citizen troops.<sup>4</sup> As a general rule it reserved them for the critical operations of a field campaign and recalled them home at the close of each fighting season. For the routine duties of garrison service it relied almost entirely on mercenaries. But the emergency which had necessitated the sending of a large field force to Phocis in 374 B.C. had passed away long before the campaign of Leuctra. In 374, no doubt, a strong Theban force was concentrated for the invasion of Phocis. In 373 and 372, however, the Thebans were preoccupied with the coercion of Thespieae and the occupation of Plataea;<sup>5</sup> and in view of the ill-concealed hostility of Athens<sup>6</sup> and the presence of an Attic force on the Boeotian border at Oropus,<sup>7</sup> we may fairly assume that a considerable portion of the Theban field forces had during these years to be called away from the Phocian frontier. In the spring of 371 B.C. Thebans and Spartans alike were more

<sup>1</sup> *Hermes*, 1905, pp. 387–449. Professor Toynbee (*J.H.S.* 1913, p. 271) reaches similar conclusions.

<sup>2</sup> *Hellenica*, vi. 4. 17.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* vi. 1. 1.

<sup>4</sup> In 374 B.C. the Spartans had to refuse an urgent request from Polydamas of Pharsalus for assistance against Jason of

Pherae, because they could not beat up an army of any sort for this purpose (*Hellen.* vi. 1. 17).

<sup>5</sup> *Hellen.* vi. 3. 1. For the date see Grote, *History of Greece* (1903 ed.), vol. viii. p. 150 *sqq.*

<sup>6</sup> *Vide* the *Plataicus* of Isocrates.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 20.

taken up with diplomatic negotiations than with military operations.<sup>8</sup> Under these circumstances we may well doubt whether the Phocians continued to be in such danger as to require the continued presence of four strong μόραι.

A further doubt is suggested by the smallness in numbers of the Spartan contingent actually engaged at Leuctra. This force, according to Xenophon,<sup>9</sup> was only 700 strong. Accepting these figures, Busolt has reckoned out that by 371 B.C. Sparta's total military establishment had sunk to some 1000 men.<sup>10</sup> This conclusion does little credit to the premiss from which it proceeds. In 418 B.C., as Busolt has shown, Sparta's military population numbered about 2200.<sup>11</sup> This leaves us with a depopulation of more than 50 per cent. to explain away. But neither the wastage of previous wars nor the social and economic changes which befell Sparta in the early years of the fourth century<sup>12</sup> will account for such a catastrophic reduction in numbers. We are therefore driven to infer that the 700 Spartans at Leuctra constituted a smaller portion of the Spartan citizen levy than Busolt assumes.

Another difficulty in the way of Busolt's estimate is this. About 380 B.C. the Spartans introduced a 'formula togatorum' for their allies, by which each dependent community was bound to contribute a fixed quota of soldiers to each joint expedition.<sup>13</sup> In 374 B.C. Xenophon expressly mentions that the allies of Sparta contributed their allotted share to Cleombrotus' force, and there is no reason for supposing that in 371 B.C. the Peloponnesian contingent in this force had been reduced below the normal. Now the normal ratio of other Peloponnesians to Spartans and Perioeci was 6:1. But if the Laconian contingent at Leuctra was over 2000 strong, as on Busolt's showing it must have been,<sup>14</sup> it follows that the other Peloponnesian contingents exceeded 12,000, and that the entire Peloponnesian corps numbered some 15,000 combatants. If to these be added the Phocian and Heracleote divisions which accompanied Cleombrotus,<sup>15</sup> the grand total of his force cannot have fallen far short of 16,000-17,000 men. But this total considerably exceeds the estimate of 11,000 men given by Plutarch,<sup>16</sup> and it is quite out of keeping with

<sup>8</sup> This consideration seems decisive against Beloch's theory that Cleombrotus' force was not sent to Phocis until 371 B.C. (*Griechische Geschichte*, 1st ed., vol. ii. p. 251, n. 3).

<sup>9</sup> *Hellen.* vi. 4. 15.

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 423. Busolt further concludes that at Leuctra the proportion of Spartan citizens to Perioeci in the μόραι had sunk to 1:5. Professor Toynbee (*loc. cit.*) establishes a ratio of 1:10. Neither of these estimates is inconceivable, for in Spartan field tactics the rear-rank men were trained merely to follow No. 1 in each file (Xenophon, *Resp. Lac.* ch. 11), and one Spartan as πρωτοστάτης to each file would at a pinch be sufficient. But we should feel happier if we could assume a less complete dilution of the μόραι with περίοικοι.

<sup>11</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 417.

<sup>12</sup> The βήρυα of Epitadas, which permitted the concentration of the Spartan land in a few hands, probably belongs to the middle rather than to the beginning of the fourth century (Toynbee, p. 273). In any case, its effects by 371 B.C. could not have been devastating.

The severe depopulation upon which Aristotle comments (*Politics*, ii. 5) was the result of the disasters which befell Sparta after Leuctra.

<sup>13</sup> Diodorus, xv. 31.

<sup>14</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 422. Professor Toynbee raises the Laconian contingent to 4,480 hoplites.

<sup>15</sup> *Hellen.* vi. 4. 9.

<sup>16</sup> *Pelopidas*, cli. 20.

the conclusions of the most recent historians, who argue with considerable force that the disparity of numbers between Cleombrotus' and Epaminondas' armies cannot have been great, and are therefore inclined to regard Plutarch's allowance as rather generous.<sup>17</sup>

We must therefore relinquish the view that the Spartans had four *μόραι* engaged at Leuctra: their contingent must have been considerably smaller. Any more exact estimate can only be guess-work. But if we accept Plutarch's figures for Cleombrotus' force as being approximately correct, we may assume that his Peloponnesian contingent represented τὸ εἰς τοὺς μυρίους σύνταγμα,<sup>18</sup> and that the Laconian quota consisted of 1400-1500 men. If we deduct from these the 300 Guards, there remains a force sufficient to make up two strong *μόραι*.<sup>19</sup> This estimate fits in well with Xenophon's figure of 700 for the Spartan citizen troops. As the 300 Guards formed a special corps, we have 400 Spartan soldiers of the line left over, *i. e.* 200 men to each *μόρα*. On this reckoning the proportion of Spartans to Perioeci in each *μόρα* was roughly 2:3, which was also the relative strength of their respective contingents at First Mantinea,<sup>20</sup> and the ratio of their casualties at Leuctra itself.<sup>21</sup> We may therefore conclude tentatively that the Laconian contingent in this battle was two *μόραι* strong.

## II. WHERE WAS ARCHIDAMUS?

In telling the story of Leuctra modern historians since Grote have invariably given preference to the account of Xenophon over that of Diodorus. But Professor Bury, instead of rejecting Diodorus' version *in toto*, has discerned a substratum of truth in his assertion that the army of Prince Archidamus joined hands with King Cleombrotus' force in time to participate in the battle. While he shares the accepted view that Archidamus was not actually on the field at Leuctra, Professor Bury suggests that Archidamus marched out from Sparta *before* the battle and fell in with the remnants of Cleombrotus' army on the second or third day after the fighting.<sup>22</sup> On this hypothesis, as he points out, a further reason is supplied for Cleombrotus' devious line of march via Creusis, for this harbour was obviously suited to serve as a joint base for two co-operating forces from Phocis and Peloponnesus; and the delay in the retreat of the defeated Spartan forces from their camp at Leuctra can be reduced from a

<sup>17</sup> Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, v. p. 412; Delbrück, *Geschichte der Kriegskunst*, i. p. 156, n. 2.

<sup>18</sup> This was the strength of the corps levied for service against the Chalcidians in 382 B.C. (*Hellen.* v. 2. 20).

<sup>19</sup> The strength of the *μόρα* varied according to the number of service classes mobilised. According to Busolt's careful calculations, the *μόραι* engaged at Leuctra numbered at most 576 men each.

<sup>20</sup> Busolt, p. 433.

<sup>21</sup> Professor Toynbee assumes that the

Guards' corps was practically annihilated, and that the total losses of the Spartan citizen troops were relatively far heavier (*op. cit.* p. 271). But according to Xenophon the battle at first went in favour of the Spartans at the point where King Cleombrotus stood (*Hellen.* vi. 4. 13). The impact of the Theban phalanx therefore fell upon the *μόραι* rather than upon the Guards, in which case the Perioeci probably suffered their full share of casualties.

<sup>22</sup> *History of Greece* (1913 ed.), p. 596.

week or more<sup>23</sup> to a matter of one or two days. To these arguments it may be added that in the light of Professor Bury's theory the strictures which Isocrates makes Archidamus pass on Cleombrotus' leadership<sup>24</sup> gain a good deal of point. In Xenophon's version of events it is hard to see where the bad leadership comes in: Cleombrotus here appears as a good general who has the misfortune to meet a great general. But if Cleombrotus precipitated an action a few days before the arrival of reinforcements which would have made the issue safe for Sparta, Archidamus had good reason for saying that Leuctra had been thrown away by bad strategy.

On the other hand, Professor Bury's reconstruction involves the rejection of Xenophon's detailed and explicit statement that Archidamus' force was mobilised *after and in consequence of* Leuctra.<sup>25</sup> Although a slip in Xenophon's memory on this point was possible, it should not be assumed without further investigation.

It will be agreed that the arguments drawn from Cleombrotus' route of march and from Isocrates' aspersions on him are in any case but a make-weight. While these incidents fit in excellently with Professor Bury's version of events, they are not out of harmony with Xenophon's account. Whether Cleombrotus expected reinforcements from Peloponnesus or no, it was worth his while to make a detour via the Boeotian seaboard and so to turn the strong defensive positions in north-western Boeotia. Whether Isocrates' comments on Cleombrotus were just or not, they were in any case appropriate to Isocrates' purpose, for in the passage in question it was his cue to explain away the disaster of Leuctra as the result of mere bad leadership.

The main point at issue is whether the beaten Spartan army spent a week or so in contemplating the scene of its defeat. On Xenophon's showing, it could not have heard of Archidamus' expedition, and therefore could not have been waiting for him to come up and retrieve the previous disaster. Again, though the first day or two of its stay at Leuctra may have been taken up with the burying of the dead, for which purpose the Thebans had granted it a truce, these burial operations will not account for a delay of a week or more in its retreat.

But there remains one simple explanation which if true is all-sufficient, that the Spartans remained *in situ* because their retreat was cut off or at all events endangered. Professor Bury, it is true, assumes that the Spartans had an open road, and on his behalf it might be pointed out that a resolute hoplite force could not be stopped except by being engaged at close quarters, as Agesilaus proved on his march through Thessaly in 394 B.C.<sup>26</sup> But the army of Leuctra was demoralised as well as defeated,<sup>27</sup> and the furtiveness with which it eventually withdrew to Creusis, and that too under a convention which secured it from attack,<sup>28</sup> indicates that it expected to be waylaid and did not

<sup>23</sup> In assuming that the delay did not exceed a week in duration, Professor Bury states the case as unfavourably as possible for himself. A detailed calculation will show that seven days represents the *minimum* lapse of time.

<sup>24</sup> *Archidamus*, § 9: δεδυστυχημένοι δοκούμεν . . . διὰ τὸν οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἡγησάμενον.

<sup>25</sup> *Hellen.* vi. 4. 16-17.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* iv. 3. 3-9.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* vi. 4. 15, 24.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* vi. 4. 25-6.

feel equal to cutting a path for itself. The haste with which Archidamus' force was moved forward also suggests that its task was not so much to beat the Thebans in a return match<sup>29</sup> as to extricate a beleaguered force.

Thus it appears that the Spartans had an adequate, not to say a compelling reason for staying on at Leuctra. In that case there is no need to overthrow Xenophon by antedating Archidamus' advance.

### III. THE 'PHYLARCHUS' INSCRIPTION

Our chief source of information about the federal council of the Arcadian League is an inscription recording a grant of *προξενία* to one Phylarchus of Athens by the Council and Assembly of the Arcadians, and setting forth the names of fifty deputies, drawn from ten of the Arcadian communities, who evidently constituted the federal council at the time in question.<sup>30</sup> Unfortunately the date of this inscription has long remained a matter of dispute among scholars, some of whom would assign it to the fourth century B.C., others to the third.

A definite *terminus ante quem* has recently been provided for our document by Hiller v. Gärtringen, who has pointed out that some of the communities which figure in it as independent constituents of the Arcadian League were absorbed in 361 B.C. in the borough of Megalopolis, and thereby lost the right of separate representation on the federal council.<sup>31</sup> This may be taken as proof conclusive that the decree was issued not later than 361 B.C.

By this discovery the margin of doubt as to the date has been enormously reduced, for since the Arcadian League only came into existence in 370 B.C., it is evident that the Phylarchus decree must belong to the ensuing decade.

Is it possible to fix the date still more precisely? On the strength of the words *πρόξενον καὶ εὐεργέτην εἶναι Ἀρκάδων πάντων* Hiller v. Gärtringen has further inferred that the decree was not drawn up until after the battle of Mantinea, because then, and then only, did the Arcadian federal state comprise the entire territory of Arcadia. Our document, therefore, must fall within the limits of the Athenian archon year 362/1 B.C.

This argument has at least the merit of enabling us to assign the decree to a very definite occasion, viz. the negotiations for a new Arcadian-Athenian alliance which ensued after Mantinea, and resulted in a treaty of which we still have a record in the 'Molon' inscription.<sup>32</sup> But two objections can be urged against it.

(1) It is by no means certain that the 'Ἀρκάδες' of the Molon inscription really stood for all Arcadia. Before the battle of Mantinea the Arcadian

<sup>29</sup> Else Archidamus would have waited for his Peloponnesian allies to fall in, instead of hastening on ahead of them (*Hellen.* vi. 4. 26).

<sup>30</sup> Hicks, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 171; Michel, *Recueil d'Inscriptions Grecques*, No. 193; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*

(3rd ed.), No. 183; Niese, *Hermes*, 1899, pp. 542-548.

<sup>31</sup> *Athenische Mitteilungen*, 1911, pp. 349-360.

<sup>32</sup> Hicks and Hill, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 119.

League had notoriously been sundered into two hostile sections, and as we are nowhere explicitly told that the rift was subsequently mended, we cannot be sure that the party which entered into alliance with Athens was not a subgroup (presumably the Mantineian group) which pretended to speak on behalf of the Arcadians in general.

(2) Whatever the precise extent of the Arcadian League may have been in 362/1 B.C., it is clear that the federal Arcadian council, as detailed in the Phylarchus inscription, was not properly representative of Arcadia as a whole, for on this council *the deputies of the North Arcadian communities* of Alea, Caphyae, Cynaetha, Pheneus, Psophis and Stymphalus *are conspicuous by their absence*.

So far, then, 362/1 B.C. remains a possible date, but ceases to be the only conceivable date for Phylarchus' decree.

This brings us to the crux of the problem, which is to reconcile the expression 'πρόξενον Ἀρκάδων πάντων' with the *de facto* non-representative character of those who conferred this pan-Arcadian title.

The difficulty cannot be evaded by assuming that the absence of the deputies from northern Arcadia was accidental. Though one or two councillors might have been ill in bed or otherwise engaged, it is inconceivable that all the twenty or thirty representatives of six district communities should simultaneously have been prevented from attending.

Again, we cannot suppose that the North Arcadian communities were deprived of seats on the federal council on the score of their insignificance. True enough, none of them was as important as Mantinea or Tegea; but none of them was more Lilliputian than Lepreum, which furnished two deputies, or Thelpusa, which provided five.

A more plausible suggestion is that only the larger Arcadian cities enjoyed permanent representation on the Arcadian council, and that the lesser communities took it in turn to provide the remaining deputies. A parallel for this might be found in the constitution of the League of Nations, which provides permanent seats on the League Council for the 'Big Five' only, and allots a beggarly representation of four members to the remaining signatories of the Covenant. But under such a system we should expect to find a better distribution of the available seats among the minor communities. Whether these seats were filled by annual election or on some fixed principle of rotation, it is incomprehensible that in any given year the entire northern zone of Arcadia should have been excluded from the council, while all the tiny communities of the south sent their full quota of delegates.

There seems no escape from the conclusion that, *in spite of its claim to speak on behalf of Ἀρκάδες πάντες*, the council of the Phylarchus inscription was only representative of southern and central Arcadia, and that the inscription itself belongs to a period at which northern Arcadia had not yet joined the League.

The council's profession was therefore a hopeful anticipation of the future rather than an accurate description of the present.

Once we admit that the League was incomplete at the time of the decree in honour of Phylarchus, we win a new *terminus ante quem* for this document.



In 366 B.C. the town of Stymphalus, which does not figure in our inscription, had become a member of the League, for in that year it provided the federal *στρατηγός*.<sup>33</sup> The decree was therefore issued at some earlier date than 366 B.C.

On the other hand, the inscription contains the names of several councillors from Megalopolis, and therefore must be subsequent to the foundation of that city. The year in which Megalopolis was founded is a matter of dispute, but 369 B.C. is the earliest possible date.<sup>34</sup>

Our conclusion, therefore, is that the Phylarchus decree belongs to 369, 368 or 367 B.C.

The precise occasion on which Phylarchus was appointed *πρόξενος* cannot be ascertained. But the commonest service for which this title was conferred was the rendering of assistance to travellers, and especially to official emissaries. It therefore appears not unlikely that Phylarchus befriended some Arcadian embassy on the occasion of the peace negotiations of Delphi (368 or 367) or Susa (late 367).

#### IV. I.G. VII. 2408

This inscription, which records a grant of *προξενία* by the Boeotian federation to a citizen of Byzantium, has been used as a means of dating Epaminondas' naval campaign and the punitive expedition which the Thebans sent to Thessaly to avenge the death of Pelopidas. The list of eponymous Boeotarchs at the foot of this document contains the names of the two generals, Malecidas and Diogeiton, who took command of the punitive expedition to Thessaly,<sup>35</sup> but it omits the names of Pelopidas and Epaminondas. Since it is practically certain that Epaminondas was a Boeotarch in the year of his naval campaign, and Pelopidas in the year of his death,<sup>36</sup> it has been argued that the year of Malecidas and Diogeiton's Boeotarchy must be a different one.<sup>37</sup> Now Pelopidas died in 364 B.C.<sup>38</sup> Therefore the expedition of the two generals must be dated forward to 363. Epaminondas' naval campaign can be assigned on general grounds to either 364 or 363. *Ex hypothesi* it does not belong to 363; therefore its date is 364.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>33</sup> *Hellen.* vii. 3. 1.

<sup>34</sup> See Niese, *Hermes*, 1899, pp. 527-542. The date selected by Niese, 367 B.C., is rather too late, as Meyer (*Geschichte des Altertums*, v. p. 433) has pointed out. The foundation of Megalopolis probably stands in connexion with the second Peloponnesian expedition of Epaminondas, which befell in 369 according to the common dating, or in 368, according to the more credible reckoning of Clinton and Niese (*Hermes*, 1904, pp. 84-108).

<sup>35</sup> Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, ch. 35. The 'Malecitus' of Plutarch's text can safely be identified with the 'Malecidas' of the inscription.

<sup>36</sup> Pelopidas was Boeotarch every year (so Diodorus, xv. 81), or thirteen times (so Plutarch, ch. 34) since 378 B.C. Since Epaminondas' fleet must have been a federal Boeotian armament, and not merely a Theban affair, it may be taken for granted that its admiral was a Boeotarch (*pace* Meyer, *op. cit.* v. p. 462).

<sup>37</sup> Köhler, *Hermes*, 1892, p. 638.

<sup>38</sup> The eclipse which preceded his death took place on July 13, 364. (Ginzler, *Spezieller Kanon der Sonnen- und Mondfinsternisse*, pp. 24-5, 182.)

<sup>39</sup> Beloch, *op. cit.* ii. p. 281, n. 3.

This conclusion stands in conflict with Plutarch's account, which declares that Malecidas' and Diogeiton's army went out hot-foot to avenge Pelopidas. On the face of it this version is more credible than a theory which interposes a long delay between Pelopidas' death and the avenging expedition, and a further investigation will show that there is after all no reason to reject it.

The evidence of the inscription would be conclusive if it could be proved that Malecidas and Diogeiton were Boeotarchs *once only*. But there is no ground whatever for asserting that these two generals did not hold office repeatedly, as the Boeotian constitution undoubtedly allowed them to do. The date of our inscription, therefore, remains indeterminate. For all that we can prove to the contrary, it remains quite possible that Malecidas and Diogeiton were Pelopidas' colleagues in 364 and avenged his death in the selfsame year. It is equally possible that Epaminondas was their colleague in 364 or in 363, or in both these years, and our inscription leaves it an open question to which year his naval campaign belongs.

M. CARY.

## A BLACK FIGURE FRAGMENT IN THE DORSET MUSEUM

IN the Dorset County Museum at Dorchester<sup>1</sup> there are thirteen fragments of Attic Black Figure pottery<sup>2</sup> which form part of a collection of antiques acquired by the Museum in 1885 from the late Mr. Charles Warne, F.S.A. Most of Mr. Warne's collection consists of objects of local interest, and nothing is known of the history of the Greek fragments beyond the fact that on the back of one of them<sup>3</sup> is written the name Campanari. This fragment no doubt came from Campanari's excavations in Tuscany, but there is no evidence to show whether all the pieces have the same provenance, nor even whether they were all acquired by Mr. Warne from the same source.

The most interesting of the sherds is a fragment of an eye-kylix which once bore the signature of the maker. The clay is fine and clear, the glaze good. The outside decoration needs no description, since every detail can be seen in the photograph here published (Fig. 1). The inside is black with a line reserved in ground colour just below the rim. As it stands to-day the inscription . . . ζ ΕΠΟΙ . . . is somewhat baffling. The remaining ζ of the signature tells us little, since there are not more than half a dozen known Black Figure potters whose names do not end in this letter. The identification of the master, therefore, depends on the discovery of a signed vase with kindred decoration.

Eye-kylikes were common in Athens in the later Black Figure and early Red Figure periods, and in the Black Figure technique there have come down to us eleven with potters' signatures. They are as follows:—

Amasis, one (fragmentary). Boston Mus. of Fine Arts, No. 03.850 (*A.J.A.* xi., 1907, p. 159, Fig. 2).

Exekias, one. Munich, No. 2044 (*Wiener Vorleg.* 1888, Taf. VII. i.).

<sup>1</sup> My thanks are due to the Curator, Capt. J. E. Acland, for very kindly giving me permission to publish this fragment.

<sup>2</sup> They are as follows: (i) fragment of the eye-kylix dealt with in this article; (ii) and (iii) two kylix fragments which fit together; bearded man in chiton and himation running to right and looking back, carrying an aryballos on a string; (iv) fragment of kylix; lower part of man in himation walking to left wearing winged shoes; (v) fragment of kylix; ivy- and vine-branches and grapes, rays; (vi) fragment of kylix: lion's head, neck, and part of tail, floral decoration; (vii) fragment of kylix: nude man riding mule, head and shoulders of man of larger size; (viii) fragment of kylix: be-

tween eyes in black silhouette seated figure of Dionysos with rhyton, vine-branches and grapes in field; (ix) fragment of kylix: winged female figure in chiton and himation to right; (x) fragment of kylix: deep black rim, below it band of palmettes, leaves black and purple; (xi) fragment probably of kyathos: sphinx to right, looking back, branches. The two following are B.F. on pale ground: (xii) fragment of kyathos with modelled female head at base of handle; on each side of handle, leopards, branches; (xiii) part of rim of same or similar vase, female figure in chiton, branches, part of black object (? eye). Of these Nos. (i) to (v) are good early work.

<sup>3</sup> No. (iv) of previous note.

Nikosthenes, six. Louvre, F 121, F 122 (*Wiener Vorleg.* 1890–1891, Taf. V. i.); Florence, No. 3888; New York (Richter, *Handbook of the Classical Collection, Metropolitan Museum*, p. 77, Fig. 46); Munich, No. 2029, and Rouen, No. 450 (Klein, No. 63).<sup>4</sup>

Pamphaios, two. Louvre, F 127 *bis*; Vatican, Helbig's No. 543 (*Mus. Greg.* ii. 66, 4).

Hischylos, one, painted by Sakonides. Cambridge, No. 60 (Gardner, *Catalogue of the Fitzwilliam Collection*, Pl. XXII.).

Andokides, one, in 'mixed' style. Palermo (Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art* x. Fig. 180).

On vases in general with this prophylactic eye there is considerable variety in its rendering. Sometimes it is drawn in outline, leaving the 'white'



FIG. 1.—FRAGMENT OF KYLIX.

of the eye reserved in the ground colour of the clay, while the coloured part is represented by painted rings. Often the 'white' is covered with a coat of paint, either a realistic white or more often black, so that the eye stands out in silhouette against the red ground of the vase. The coloured rings of the pupil and iris are then painted on according to the taste of the painter over the black or white of the silhouette. Now, in spite of the very large number of permutations and combinations possible in the colouring of the eye, a study of eye-vases shows that there was a certain standardisation and that individual artists tended generally to use the same type. At least, on

<sup>4</sup> This vase, which Klein and Nicole could not locate, is now in the Musée des Antiquités at Rouen, and has been published

by the Director, M. Léon de Vesly, in *Notes Archéologiques*, Rouen, 1908.

vases which group themselves together on other grounds the eyes are frequently found to be uniform. Of the signed kylikes listed above, the two from the workshop of Pamphaios both have eyes drawn in outline, the pupils coloured black with a tiny purple dot in the centre covering the mark of the compass-point, and the iris (reading from the inmost ring outwards) purple, white, black. Five of the kylikes of Nikosthenes have eyes precisely like those of Pamphaios, except that in the former the mark of the compass point is not always covered with purple. The sixth, the one in Munich, has an additional black ring in the iris, that is, the pupil is black, the iris purple, black, white, black. Of the four potters who are represented by only one cup each, Andokides has on the black-figured side of his cup an outlined eye with a black pupil and three rings of black for the iris, while Sakonides paints his eye in white silhouette with the pupil black, the iris black, purple, black, and Exekias uses the same eye as Pamphaios. The fragmentary kylix of Amasis in Boston is the only one which has an eye identical with that of the Dorchester fragment, that is, an eye drawn in outline with the pupil purple, the iris black, white, black. This Amasis eye is extremely rare on black-figured vases though common on red-figured. Of nearly 300 black-figured eye vases of various types which I have examined, not one except the cup signed by Amasis had an eye of precisely this description. Only 32 had the pupils coloured purple, and in every case the purple pupil was found on an eye that was painted in silhouette, and which therefore belonged to a different class from the outlined eyes of the Boston and Dorchester fragments.

Further comparison of our fragment with the signed black-figured cups shows that it shares other peculiarities of the kylix of Amasis. Both have only one figure in the space between the eyes. That of the Boston cup is all lost except a tiny piece of fringed drapery and an ivy spray, but measurements show that there was room there for only a single figure.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, the remaining signed cups, except when they follow the Ionic fashion of putting a nose between the eyes, fill that space with a group of two or more members.<sup>6</sup> The size of the signed kylikes is generally large, those of Pamphaios, Nikosthenes, Exekias and Hischylos (Sakonides) varying from 28 to 38 cm. in diameter, while that of Andokides measures as much as 43.5 cm. The kylix of Amasis, however, in its complete state was only half the size of the others, measuring 17.5 cm., which was also the diameter of the Dorchester cup. Also the Amasis cup is the only one which, like ours, has the two words of the signature written symmetrically one over each eye.

There are thus good grounds for associating the Dorchester kylix with the Boston kylix of Amasis. It remains to be seen whether the other signed vases<sup>7</sup> from that master's workshop have enough in common with our fragment to bear out the attribution.

<sup>5</sup> Walton, *A.J.A.* xi. (1907), p. 159.

<sup>6</sup> An exception is the kylix of Nikosthenes, Louvre, F 121, which on one side has the single figure of Heracles with an enormous club.

<sup>7</sup> Three amphorae and four olpae, cp. Nicole, *Corpus des Céramistes grecs*, *Rev. Arch.*, 1916, corrected by Hoppin in *A.J.A.* xxi. (1917).

There are certainly a number of points in which the figure between the eyes of the Dorchester vase reflects the idiosyncrasies of the Amasis painter (assuming that the amphorae and olpae are all the work of one hand). We have here the fringe, which, though it cannot be regarded as the trade-mark<sup>8</sup> of Amasis' work, is habitually used by him and occurs only rarely on vases signed by other potters.<sup>9</sup> The small foldless himation passing under the right arm with the end thrown over the left shoulder appears several times on his signed vases (*e. g.* the figure of Poseidon on the Louvre oenochoe), and the pattern on it of purple spots and rosettes formed of a ring of white dots round a purple centre is equally familiar. The beard with its parallel incised lines is of the type normally used by the Amasis painter. The eager movement of our reveller, though it contrasts with the rather stiff repose of most of his figures, is paralleled by the Dionysiac figures beneath the handles of the Boston amphora (Klein, No. 3) and by the maenads on the reverse of the amphora in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and is surpassed in liveliness by the trumpeter and the Phrygian archer on the shoulder of the latter vase. The awkward drawing of the right arm is an unsuccessful experiment which recalls once more the Paris maenads and finds a still closer analogy on the Würzburg amphora attributed with good reason to the Amasis painter by Karo.<sup>10</sup> On the other hand, the execution of the Dorchester fragment is of a different order from that of the larger vases with their meticulous accuracy. There is nothing in them so careless as the incision outlining the hand which holds the oenochoe, or the hasty way the purple of the himation borders is laid on, seldom entirely filling the space between the incised edges. More important is the difference in the rendering of certain details, *e. g.* the muscles of the knee, which the Dorchester painter has represented in a manner unknown on the vases signed by Amasis.

There is no single figure on any of the signed works of the Amasis painter which is obviously brother to ours. There are, of course, none of the same type with which to compare it. The groups painted in the panels of the olpae and on the amphorae are of a larger size and of a more serious nature than this single decorative figure which fills the gap between the eyes on the Dorchester vase. The tiny figures which form a frieze of subordinate decoration on some of the larger vases are just as far removed in the opposite direction. The only kylix figure which we know to have been painted in the workshop of Amasis is practically all lost. If, therefore, we compare our fragment only with the amphorae and olpae we must come to the conclusion that though it resembles them in many points it is not by the hand of the same painter.

Now there is no evidence that the Amasis kylix in Boston is by the same hand as the larger vases signed by Amasis. As the kylix has no human figures and the other vases have no eyes there is no basis for comparison. The Dorchester fragment, which has both elements—the eye exactly matching the Boston eye, which is of a most unusual type; the figure resembling

<sup>8</sup> Karo, *J.H.S.* xix. (1899), p. 138.

<sup>9</sup> *E. g.* on the pyxis in Florence signed by Nikosthenes.

<sup>10</sup> The fourth figure from the right on the small frieze above the panel on each side of the vase, *J.H.S.*, 1899, Pl. V.

the figures of the olpae and amphorae, yet not having quite the same individuality—suggests that possibly the kylikes which Amasis put on the market were painted by a different and rather less competent painter than the one who decorated the costlier vases, but one, nevertheless, who was influenced by the same models and traditions. It is perhaps significant that the formula used by the painter of the kylikes was ΕΡΟΙΕΣΕΝ, while the painter or painters of the larger vases, except perhaps the lost olpe (Klein, No. 6),<sup>11</sup> used ΜΕΡΟΙΕΣΕΝ.

As to the period at which the kylikes of Amasis were made, the evidence is scanty, but that afforded by the one certain example in Boston suffices to show that it connects more closely with early red-figured kylikes than with black-figured. The eye used by Amasis was the peculiar property of the Red Figure painters, and decoration with a single figure only between the eyes was their habitual practice. The probability is, therefore, that the Boston kylix was made during the later period of Amasis' activity, which appears to have overlapped the beginnings of the Red Figure technique.<sup>12</sup>

If the Dorchester fragment be accepted as a product of Amasis' shop, this probability is heightened, for, allowing for the difference of technique, there is something in the drawing of our bearded votary of Dionysos which recalls more than anything else the ephebes who occupy the same position<sup>13</sup> on the earlier red-figured eye-cups.<sup>14</sup>

The painter of the Dorchester cup probably did not confine himself to the decoration of kylikes. There is in the Louvre a skyphos (F 70) of unusual shape<sup>15</sup> with Black Figure scenes done in a style so similar to that of the fragment here published that it is tempting to suggest that it, too, represents the less ambitious products of the later days of Amasis. This skyphos has already been recognised by Pottier<sup>16</sup> as reflecting the style of Amasis, but it has closer affinities with the Dorchester kylix than with any of his larger vases. The decoration is on much the same scale, and the striking resemblance of style is borne out by a correspondence in details which is too close to be due to chance coincidence. There are the same ivy sprays, the same garlands, purple borders, fringes, and patterns on the garments, the same rendering of eyes and knees, and the slender oenochoe from which a youth pours wine into a kylix held out by a maiden suggests the same metal original as does that on our fragment.

One further point may perhaps be noted. The wine-cup in the left hand of the Dorchester figure has the general shape of a kantharos, but instead of the high vertical handles characteristic of that type of cup it has small hori-

<sup>11</sup> For this Klein gives ΕΡΟΙΕΣΕΝ, copying apparently from an old drawing of the vase.

<sup>12</sup> Hauser, *Jahreshefte des oest. arch. Inst.* x. (1907), p. 3; Loeschke in Pauly-Wissowa, i. 1748.

<sup>13</sup> E.g. the trumpeter on the kylix in the Vatican, Alinari photo, No. 35782.

<sup>14</sup> It is, therefore, a question whether Amasis is to be regarded as one of the first to

introduce the Ionic eye-kylix into the Attic potteries (Buschor, *Greek Vase Painting*, trans., p. 102), or whether in his later years he followed a fashion already made popular by others.

<sup>15</sup> Both sides of the vase are figured in *Vases Antiques du Louvre*, Plate LXIX.

<sup>16</sup> *Catalogue des Vases Antiques du Louvre*, p. 746.

zontal ones resembling those of a kylix. Did the painter start with the intention of drawing a kylix such as the one on the Louvre skyphos and then expand it into a kantharos, forgetting to alter the handles to correspond? Or did he deliberately draw a cup of this un-Attic shape? Whatever his original intention may have been, the vase as he has left it bears a curious resemblance to the cups of Naukratis, and suggests that he was not unfamiliar with the pottery of the city from which Amasis has been thought to have derived his Egyptian name.

ANNIE D. URE.



## THE CONSTITUTIVE ACT OF DEMETRIUS' LEAGUE OF 303

THE important inscription from Epidaurus, published in Aug. 1921 by M. Cavvadias,<sup>1</sup> raises many questions beside those dealt with in the very full commentary. Cavvadias attributes the document to 223 and the Achaean League. It is, I think, certain that it cannot belong to the Achaean League, and almost certain, as I hope to show, that it belongs to 303 and the revived League of Corinth of Demetrius I. The last few lines of the inscription have long been known (*I.G.* iv. 924), and have been exhaustively studied by A. Wilhelm,<sup>2</sup> who placed the fragment which in *I.G.* is marked  $\beta$ ; Cavvadias does not refer to Wilhelm's study, and unfortunately omits any mention of  $\beta$  from his restoration. The document contains no proper names.

A preliminary point is to restore l. 13, if possible. Ll. 11-18 run as follows :—

- 11 συνέρχεσθαι δὲ τοὺς συ-  
 12 νέδρους ἐμ μὲν τῇ εἰρήνῃ το[ . . . . . ?ἐ]ν δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ  
     ὅσακις ἂν δοκῇ  
 13 συμφέρειν τοῖς συνέδροις καὶ [τοῖς ἄρχουσι? κα]ὶ τῷ ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων  
     ἐπὶ τῆς κοι-  
 14 ν]ῆς φυλακῆς καταλελειμμέν[ωι- Συ]νεδρεύειν δὲ ὅποσας ἂν ἡμέρας οἱ  
     πρόεδροι  
 15 τοῦ συνεδρίου παραγγέλλωσ[ιν- Τ]ὰς δὲ συνόδους γενέσθαι τοῦ  
     συνεδρίου, [ἐ-  
 16 ως μὲν ἂν ὁ κοινὸς πόλεμος λυ[θῇ, ο]ὔ ἂν οἱ πρόεδροι καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἢ  
     ὁ<ι> ὑπὸ τῶν βα-  
 17 σιλέων ἀποδεδειγμένος στρ[ατ]ηγὸς παραγγέλλῃ, ὅταν δ' ἡ εἰρήνη  
     γέν[ηται,  
 18 οὐ ἂν οἱ στεφανῶνται ἀγῶνες ἄγωνται.

Now these two clauses balance each other; one declares *when* the συνέδριον is to assemble, and the other *where*. This can hardly have been decided by two such different sets of authorities; if 'the king' helped to say *where*, he must also have helped to say *when*. Consequently for Cavvadias' tentative restoration in l. 13 [τοῖς ἄρχουσι? κα], I suggest that we must read [τῷ βασιλεῖ] ἢ. The inscription is not written στοιχηδόν, and the lines vary

<sup>1</sup> P. Cavvadias, 'Ἡ Ἀχαϊκὴ Συμπολιτεία κατ' ἐπιγραφὰς ἐκ τῶν ἀνασκαφῶν Ἐπιδαύρου. Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1918, 115. The inscription in question is No. 3, p. 128; I shall also have to refer to Nos. 2 and 3  $\beta$ .

<sup>2</sup> *Attische Urkunden*, I. 1911, pp. 31-44. Cf. U. Wilcken, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des korinthischen Bundes*, Sitzungsab. Akad. München, 1917, Abh. 10, p. 37.

considerably in length; taking Cavvadias' arrangement of the fragments and measuring the gap, τῶι βασιλεῖ ἡ fits very well, while the mark on the stone (it is the lower half of an upright stroke) which Cavvadias restored as the iota of καὶ may just as well be the lower half of the second upright of Η. It follows from this restoration that, if the decision is to be made by the σύνεδροι (or their πρόεδροι), acting in the one case in conjunction with 'the king or the general appointed by the kings,' and in the other case in conjunction with 'the king or the person left (appointed) by the kings for the common protection,' then the person appointed for the common protection and the kings' general are the same man, his formal title being given the first time only.

I will now first give briefly the reasons why the League of the inscription cannot be the Achaean. (1) The Assembly is a συνέδριον (ll. 15, twice) composed of σύνεδροι (ll. 11, 13, 22, 24, 37). The term συνέδριον is unknown to the Achaean League, whose two Assemblies are, in Polybius, always σύγκλητος and σύνοδος.<sup>3</sup> (2) Nomographi (l. 23) are to be chosen by lot ἐξ ἔθνους ἡ πόλεως, i. e. the constituent members of the League comprise ἔθνη as well as cities. There were no ἔθνη in the Achaean League, any ἔθνος joining being broken up into cities or districts.<sup>4</sup> There was one exception, Elis; but Elis was not a member till later than 223. (3) The League officials include γραμματεῖς (ll. 24, 26). The Achaean League had only one γραμματεὺς.<sup>5</sup> These γραμματεῖς must be those of the various constituent members of the League, whether ἔθνη or independent cities. (4) Five πρόεδροι (ll. 16, 21) are to be elected from the σύνεδροι. This office and title are unknown in the Achaean League, and apparently are unknown everywhere else except at Athens. (5) When peace is restored, the League meetings are to be held (l. 18) οὐδ' ἂν οἱ στεφανῶνται ἀγῶνες ἄγωνται, i. e. at the four Panhellenic festivals. The Achaean League in 223 could never have contemplated holding its meetings at Delphi or Olympia, Delphi, moreover, being actually and Elis indirectly controlled by the unfriendly Aetolians. Cavvadias attempts to restrict the meaning to the Isthmia and Nemea; but the Greek cannot, I think, mean this. In fact, the meetings of the Achaean σύνοδος in the years following 223 were *not* held in accordance with the provisions of our inscription (either for peace or war), but continued to be held as usual at Aigion.<sup>6</sup> (6) There is a joint kingship, which excludes the Achaean League of 223 (*sec post*). (7) The provision of a general ἐπὶ τῆς κοινῆς φυλακῆς is unknown to the Achaean League. (8) That Antigonus Doson should have been given the right to interfere in what were, in fact, domestic concerns of the Achaean League, as 'the king' of ll. 11-18 would be entitled to do, is almost incredible, seeing that the basis of Doson's League was the old formula that the constituent members (of whom the Achaean League was one) were to be ἐλευθέρους

<sup>3</sup> Details, etc., in Swoboda, *Staatsaltertümer* (in Hermann's *Lehrbuch*, 1913), p. 388 *seq.* That Pausanias calls the σύνοδος συνέδριον is immaterial. Plutarch gives σύνεδροι once (*Aiat.* 35), but Polybius never.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* p. 381.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.* p. 410.

<sup>6</sup> Polyb. 2, 54, 3. 4, 7. 1: 26, 7-8; 82. 7.

πολιτείαις καὶ νόμοις χρωμένους τοῖς πατρίοις.<sup>7</sup> Philip's interference in 218, when he supported a particular candidate for the generalship, is represented by Polybius (4, 82, 5-8) as a usurpation, inspired by Apelles. (9) Our inscription is written in ordinary Hellenistic Greek, and should therefore deal with the relations of several states, as both Wilhelm and Cavvadias point out.—These reasons seem to me to be conclusive.

Cavvadias' reasons for attributing the inscription to the Achaean League are three. (1) The stone was found built up in a wall together with the stone containing No. 2, a list of νομογράφοι of the Achaean League at a time when it included Sicyon, Argos, the Acte, and Megalopolis; and Cavvadias thought that the two were probably connected and that No. 3 might be the νόμος provided for by No. 2. (As, however, No. 3 provides for the appointment of nomographi, the connexion, if any, might have to be reversed, No. 2 being that appointment.) But two stones, even if taken from the same precinct, used in a later building have not necessarily any connexion with each other. (2) The League in question is a league of cities only. This is negatived by l. 23, ἐξ ἔθνους ἢ πόλεως. (3) L. 18, τὰ δὲ δόξαντα τοῖς συνέδ[ρ]οις [κύρια] εἶναι, fits (he considers) the Achaean League, but not Doson's, since Polyb. 4, 26, 2 shows that the acts of the συνέδριον of Doson's League were not κύρια. But there is nothing in this point. Even if [κύρια] be correct, the distinction cannot be maintained; for the acts of the synedri of Doson's League were κύρια with certain exceptions, *e.g.* declaring war;<sup>8</sup> and the acts of the σύνοδος of the Achaean League (with which Cavvadias equates the συνέδριον of the inscription) were in no better position, as the σύνοδος (among other disabilities) could not declare war, that being reserved to the general assembly, the σύγκλητος.<sup>9</sup> Also κύρια, if correct, may fit other Leagues beside the Achaean.

We are then, it appears, dealing with a League which comprised both ἔθνη and πόλεις, which contemplated holding its (political) meetings at the four Panhellenic festivals, and in which 'the king' had authority. That 'the king' must be some Macedonian is certain: the only alternative (if it be one), Areus I of Sparta, has been considered and rejected by Cavvadias for reasons quite conclusive. There are consequently three alternatives to be considered: the League of Corinth of Philip II. and Alexander, dissolved in 323; the revival of this League by Demetrius I in 303; and the League of Doson and Philip V. As regards the letter-forms of the inscription, I note here that Fränkel called *I. G.* iv., 924, fourth or third century; Wilhelm (*l.c.* p. 33) has said it is certainly (*sicherlich*) fourth century; Cavvadias says in one place (p. 129) that it is third century, and subsequently (p. 135) that it *may* (δύναται) be third century. Evidently then the fourth century is open, if historical considerations point that way.

Now Wilhelm definitely attributed *I. G.* iv., 924 to the League of Corinth;

<sup>7</sup> Polyb. 4, 25, 7; 84, 5. Cf. 2, 70, 4.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.* 4, 13, 6, ἐπεκύρωσαν; 4, 26, 2, τοῦ δόγματος κυρωθέντος. This shows that the inability to declare war of 4, 26, 2,

constitutes only an exception to their powers.

<sup>9</sup> Swoboda, pp. 393, 396.

and there is a very startling parallel in language between the Covenant of that League and our inscription: 1. 25 τῶι ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων ἐπὶ τῆς κοινῆς φυλακῆς καταλειμμέν[ωι recalls Pseudo-Demosthenes, *On the treaty with Alexander*, § 15, τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ κοινῇ φυλακῇ τεταγμένους (cf. *I.G.* ii.<sup>2</sup>, 1, 329). (As we have already seen from our inscription that the person appointed ἐπὶ τῆς κοινῆς φυλακῆς is probably the same as the general of 'the kings,' it seems to follow that Kaerst's interpretation of the phrase in Pseudo-Demosthenes is probably right;<sup>10</sup> that is, the phrase does, in fact, refer to Antipater.) Nevertheless, there can be little question, now that we have more of the document of which *I.G.* iv. 924 formed part, that it does not refer to the League of Corinth at all. (1) There is a joint or double kingship,<sup>11</sup> which puts both Philip II and Alexander out of the question. (2) The League is engaged in a war, κοινὸς πόλεμος (ll. 7, 12, 16, 36), and that war is on the Greek mainland, making it necessary for the synedri to contemplate having to meet in different places. This puts every year from the foundation of the League of Corinth to its dissolution in 323 out of the question, except the autumn of 331; and as to 331, the circumstances and duration of Antipater's campaign against Agis of Sparta prohibit the idea that in the middle of that brief struggle delegates from the League States met to settle a new constitution, Alexander, moreover, being in Asia and Antipater otherwise engaged. (3) The scale of penalties for failure to send troops. For brevity's sake I refer once for all to Wilhelm's discussion; it suffices to say here that the penalty in our inscription of twenty drachmae a day for a hoplite shows that a hoplite's pay was two drachmae a day, the same payment as is provided for in the treaty between Aetolia and Acarnania of *circ.* 272 (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 421), while in Alexander's time his hypaspists only got a drachma a day (*I.G.* ii.<sup>2</sup> 1, 329), and as they were his best heavy-armed infantry, a hoplite cannot possibly have got *more*; consequently we are dealing with a period later than Alexander, when the fall in the value of money consequent on the circulation of the Persian treasure had taken effect.—The League of Philip II and Alexander may therefore be left out of consideration; and the question is, Demetrius or Doson?

There are a number of facts which are ambiguous. The find-spot, Epidaurus, was in Demetrius' League (Plut. *Dem.* 25) as well as (through the Achaean League) in Doson's. In all the three Panhellenic Leagues the organ of the League was a συνέδριον or assembly of σύνεδροι,<sup>12</sup> and the Macedonian king was called ἡγέμων.<sup>13</sup> The scale of penalties affords no help as between 303 and 223, for it seems that the rate of pay remained much the same;<sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Wilhelm, *l.c.* p. 47 (cf. Niese, 1, 38), contended that the phrase in Pseudo-Demosthenes denotes a special authority representing both Alexander and the synedri of the League of Corinth; while Kaerst (*Rhein. Mus.* 52, 532; *Gesch. des Hellenismus*, 1<sup>2</sup>, 529), followed by Wilcken, *op. cit.*, interpreted it as meaning 'das makedonische Königtum selbst und seine Organe.'

<sup>11</sup> Ll. 13, 16, τῶν βασιλέων; l. 29, συμφερόντων τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν.

<sup>12</sup> Philip and Alexander: *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 283 and 261, and much literary evidence. Demetrius: Diod. 20, 46, 5; Plut. *Dem.* 25. Doson: Polyb. 4, 25, 5; 26, 2, 5, 28, 3; 102, 9; 103, 1.

<sup>13</sup> Philip II: *I.G.* ii.<sup>2</sup> 1, 236. Demetrius: Plut. *Dem.* 25. Doson: Polyb. 2, 54, 4.

<sup>14</sup> Doson's treaties with Eleutherna and Hieropytna: Wilhelm *op. cit.* with references. Unfortunately not in Dittenberger.

neither does the war on the Greek mainland, which may equally well be the Cleonienic war or the war of Demetrius and his League against Cassander. The resemblance already noted to Alexander's League with regard to the *κοινὴ φυλακὴ* does not help, for both Demetrius and Doson were largely copying Alexander. But there are five points which should enable us to decide.

(a) The joint kingship. In ll. 11–18 we have before us, twice, an alternative authority for doing something, either 'the king' or 'the general of the kings'; that is, if 'the king' be not actually at the *συνέδριον* himself, or for some reason be not acting, his place is to be taken, not by a general appointed by himself, but by one appointed by 'the kings.' 'The kings' then were both in existence at the moment when our document was drawn up, and cannot (as Cavvadias thought) refer generally to the dynasty. In 303 Antigonos I and Demetrius I satisfy this condition. We do not know their precise relationship as joint kings; but as Demetrius took orders from Antigonos, and in particular formed the League of 303 pursuant to such orders<sup>15</sup> (the idea being his father's), there is no difficulty in supposing that his deputy would be appointed in his father's name as well as his own, or (l. 29) that something should be spoken of as agreeable to them both. But when we turn to 223, we are met by the difficulty that Doson was sole king. Certainly there is a reference to 'the kings' in an inscription of Eretria (*I.G.* xii. 9, 199), which Tsuntas, who published it,<sup>16</sup> interpreted as meaning a joint kingship of Doson and Philip V; but I think no one has adopted this suggestion, and the inscription undoubtedly belongs to 303 or 302; Ziebarth in *I.G.* xii. 9 prints it among a group of inscriptions of the end of the fourth century. On the other hand, the evidence that Doson and Philip V were *not* joint kings seems complete.<sup>16a</sup> Polyb. 4, 2, 5 says that Philip *παρελάμβανε τὴν Μακεδόνων ἀρχήν*, and this verb seems regularly to mean to take over from a dead predecessor as an inheritance, the term for a joint king succeeding to the entirety being *διαδέξασθαι*.<sup>17</sup> Doson's political testament (Polyb. 4, 87, 7) is irreconcilable with a joint kingship. Above all, there is Doson's own dedication on Delos to commemorate Sellasia (*I.G.* xi. 4, 1097), made at the very end of his life; in this he is sole king without reference to Philip. And this is common sense; for the reason for a joint kingship (*e.g.* Ptolemy I and Ptolemy II in 285/4) would normally be an old man's desire to make safe the coming transition of power; but Doson died unexpectedly in the prime of life. 'The kings' then of the Epidaurus inscription are Antigonos I and Demetrius I, and 'the king' is Demetrius. There is epigraphic evidence for Greek states referring to Demetrius simply as 'the king,'<sup>18</sup> and to him and his father as 'the kings.'<sup>19</sup> But our inscription may have named Demetrius previously.

<sup>15</sup> Diod. 20, 99, 1; 100, 5: and in particular, 20, 46, 5.

<sup>16</sup> 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1887, 80, No. 2.

<sup>16a</sup> Certainly one cannot set up Eusebius' statement (Schoene, 1, 239, 240), that Philip after Doson's death *χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπιτρόπου* . . . *ἀρχεῖν ἤρξατο*, against Doson's Sellasia dedication. It merely shows that Eusebius' source

did not understand Doson's real position.

<sup>17</sup> The evidence is collected in my *Antigonos Gonatas*, p. 433.

<sup>18</sup> *I.G.* xi. 2, 146, A. 1. 76 (Lysixenos' year, 301, *i.e.* it refers to an event of 302); *I.G.* xi. 4, 566, l. 10.

<sup>19</sup> *I.G.* xi. 4, 1036, l. 46, and 566, l. 7; *I.G.* ii.<sup>2</sup> 1, 495, 555, 558, 560; *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 347.

(b) The four Panhellenic festivals. In 223 Aetolia was, to Doson, an unfriendly neutral, barring his way through Thermopylae (Polyb. 2, 52, 8). She controlled Elis, and Elis' attitude was similar. Doson's League, therefore, cannot have thought of holding meetings at Delphi or Olympia. (The known meetings up to 217, two at Corinth and one at Panhormus, are no argument, being in war-time.) On the other hand, whether Phocis (as is probable) or Aetolia controlled Delphi in 303, Phocis was in Demetrius' League<sup>20</sup> and Aetolia (whether or not in his League) was his ally (Diod. 20, 100, 6); while Elis, freed in 312 by Antigonos' general Polemaeus (Diod. 19, 47), and not apparently attacked again by anyone, would be favourable to Aetolia's ally and may well have been in the League, though our scanty sources do not say. But there is more than this. It is very probable, as Droysen originally suggested, that the *συνέδριον* of the League of Corinth met (or was meant to meet) at the four great festivals (it certainly met at the Pythia), and, if so, Demetrius was almost bound to adopt the same idea. I refer for details to Kaerst's study of this question;<sup>21</sup> it looks as though his prophecy (p. 529) about Demetrius' League, 'Wir würden dann hier ebenso . . . die panhellenische politische Aktion wieder an die panhellenische Festfeier angelehnt finden,' has come true.

(c) The fleet. L. 40 *seq.* of our document (= *I.G.* iv. 924) gives the scale of penalties for not supplying troops, calculated for four categories: horsemen, hoplites, light-armed, and something else. Wilhelm placed here the fragment  $\beta$  of *I.G.* iv. 924, which contains the word *ναύτην*, and made the fourth category sailors. He read (end of line 42 and beginning of 43) [*κα*|τὰ δὲ] *ναύτην*[ . . . δ]*ραχμύς*. Cavvadias' reading is [*καὶ κα*]τὰ το[ξότην] *πέντε δ**ραχμύς*, the principal new fragment, which he numbers  $\beta'$ , showing four letters TATO at the beginning of l. 43, after which it breaks away. Now  $\beta$  in the diagram in *I.G.* has a sort of tail which reaches to the margin and shows a blank space of four or five letters, and from the shading it appears that the surface has gone; and I imagine that it will be found that the break is a splintered one and that the tail of  $\beta$  fits *underneath* that part of the surface of  $\beta'$  which bears the letters TATO. Only examination can show if this be correct; but if it be, then the reading seems clear: [*καὶ κα*]τὰ το[ξότ] *ναύτην* [ . . . δ]*ραχμύς*. Now it is known that the maritime cities of Demetrius' League had to supply ships (*I.G.* xii. 9, 210). But this is very doubtful as regards Doson's League. We hear of no warships in the Cleomenic war; and in the Social War Philip V gives no thought to the sea till the second year, when he decides that he must take to the water, and so begins by hiring some Illyrian vessels, and subsequently collects a few from his allies and improvises a Macedonian fleet by putting his phalangites to the oar.<sup>22</sup> The matter is not certain; but Philip's improvisations seem quite inconsistent with a definite provision for naval warfare in the constitution of the League.

(d) The *πρόεδροι* of our inscription recall Demetrius' beloved Athens, who was in his League, but not in Doson's: and they recall nothing else.

<sup>20</sup> Beloch, 3. 2, 300.

<sup>22</sup> Polyb. 5. 2 *seq.*; 4. 29. 7.

<sup>21</sup> *Rhein. Mus.* 52, 1897, pp. 526-529.

(e) Our inscription generally calls the constituent members of the League in question *πόλεις* (ll. 11, 21, 37, 40), but refers once to *ἔθνη* (l. 23). This excludes Doson's League, whose constituent members were all *ἔθνη* or *κοινά*.<sup>23</sup> The position in regard to Demetrius' League is unknown, but the probabilities agree well enough.

The result then is that (epigraphical reasons apart) historical considerations imperatively demand the attribution of the Epidaurus inscription to Demetrius' League of 303. The only argument for attributing it to Doson's League would be that it was found built up into a wall with another stone containing an inscription referable to about Doson's time. This does not necessarily mean anything at all.

Now what sort of a document is our inscription? It is clear that it is not a treaty or *συνθήκη* forming the League; we possess the very end of it (shown by the blank stone below), and it contains neither oath-formula nor any other mark of a treaty; moreover, l. 37 probably refers to the preceding *συνθήκαι*, —[ἀν] δέ τις πόλις μὴ ἀποστε[ίλῃ] κ[ατὰ τὰς [συνθήκα]ς συνέδρους—, while the reference in l. 40 to *τὴν δύν[αμιν τὴ]ν τεταγμένην* shows that the contingents of the members had already been settled, presumably by the *συνθήκαι*. It seems equally clear that it is not a decree or law of the *σύνεδροι*: no doubt they could have decided as to their meetings, fixed a quorum, appointed *πρόεδροι*, and other such matters, but they could never have decreed such provisions as l. 18 *τὰ δὲ δόξαντα τοῖς συνέδ[ρ]οις [κύρια] εἶναι*, or l. 20 *περὶ δὲ τῶ[ν ἐν] τῷ συνεδρίῳ δοξάντων μὴ ἐξέστ[ω ταῖς] πόλεσιν ἐνθύνας λαμβάνειν [παρὰ τῶν ἀποστελλομένων συνέδρω]ν*. It must then be an act of the constituent assembly of the League, a constitutive act.<sup>24</sup> The League would be formed by a number of treaties; delegates or *πρεσβεῖς* from the constituent members would then meet and pass the constitutive law of the League, of which I take our document to form part; subsequent meetings would be held by the *synedri*.

This being so, one can probably restore the gap in l. 40:—*καὶ ἄν τις πόλις [μὴ ἀ]ποστείλῃ τὴν δύν[αμιν τὴ]ν τεταγμένην, [ἦν ἂν ὁ ἀρχων? παρὰ] ραγγέλλῃ, κ.τ.λ.* The spacing of the letters in the inscription varies, and as far as I can see from measurements the twelve letters given for this gap by Cavvadias constitute a maximum, while eleven would be fully sufficient. As the contingent of each city was already *τεταγμένη*, fixed (*i. e.* by the treaties, presumably), it cannot have been provided that some one should fix it again. On the other hand, the calling out of the contingents already fixed would certainly rest with Demetrius as commander-in-chief. Hence I would read, after *τεταγμένην*, *[ἀν ὁ ἡγέμων παρὰ] ραγγέλλῃ*.<sup>25</sup>

It is unfortunate that the latter part of l. 36 is so broken. Cavvadias prints the reading of *I.G.* iv. 924: *Προεδρεύειν [δὲ . . . .] ὡν ραστ*

<sup>23</sup> Emphasised by Beloch, 3. I, 737.

<sup>24</sup> See the interesting study of the constitutive law of the League of Corinth given by Wilcken, *op. cit.*

<sup>25</sup> Cf. *I.G.* ii. 2 1. 236 (Philip II and

League of Corinth): *πολεμήσω—λαθότι—ὁ ἡγέ[μων κελεύει]*. Also the proceedings of Philip V in the Social War with regard to the League troops.

[ . . . . . \*Αν]. But Wilhelm considers that Nikitsky's later reading βασι (for ραστ) is certain. As Μακεδόνων is out of the question in 303, the reading must be Προεδρεύειν [δὲ . . . τ]ῶν βασι[λέων.—\*Αν . . ], *i. e.* there is a space of two letters vacant at the end of the line; the lines end irregularly, and as many as three spaces are vacant at the end of ll. 5 and 6. The subject of the sentence being τοὺς προέδρους, the real question now is, was the preposition ἀντὶ or μετὰ? If μετὰ, one would expect τοῦ βασιλέως, as Antigonos' presence could hardly be expected; still, the proedri might be considered in theory the colleagues of both kings. If ἀντὶ, a rather startling vista is opened up. I see no means of deciding.

Lastly, one must look at the fragment 3 β. As it contains part of an oath-formula, it belongs to a συνθήκη, as Cavvadias points out: it cannot, therefore, be part of our inscription, No. 3. It may not belong to the same period at all. Whether it can be part of one of the preliminary συνθήκαι of Demetrius' League may depend on the true reading of l. 31, which Cavvadias gives as [βασ]ιλείαν τῇν α? - - - . What Cavvadias' representation of the stone shows, however, is clearly a lambda, Λ; perhaps a fresh examination might show if it be really Λ, or 'Α[ντιγόνου, or Δ[ημητρίου. The two proper names in 3 β, 'Αχαιοὺς and 'Ηλειοὺς, offer no difficulty. Elis, we have seen, may well have been in Demetrius' League; and as to Achaea, Demetrius freed some towns in 303 (Diod. 20, 103, 4). I am aware that many text-books state that Alexander dissolved the Achaean League in 324; but the statement is quite unfounded. The passage in Hyperides (κατὰ Δεμ. col. 18) runs καὶ τῶν ἐπιταγμάτων ὧν ἦκεν φέρων παρ' 'Αλεξάνδρου . . . περὶ τοῦ τοὺς κοινούς συλλόγους 'Αχαιῶν τε καὶ 'Αρκάδων καὶ Βοιωτῶν [breaks off]. The words as they stand have no meaning, and we have no right to invent one. The invention is not even probable; for if Alexander really gave these three peoples a first-class grievance by *ordering* the dissolution of their Leagues (he can have had no time to carry out the dissolution, any more than he had time to carry out the restoration of the Samians, which he *did* order in 324), how came it that Achaea and Arcadia refused to join the Greeks in the Lamian war, while Boeotia heartily aided Antipater? In fact, Polybius (2, 41) is quite explicit about the old Achaean League; its dissolution took place somewhere between Alexander's time and the 124th Olympiad (284 3–281/0 B.C.), and he implies that it was not an act but a process. If Ἀχαιοὺς *must* mean a League (why not a Folk?), there is no difficulty about supposing that the old Achaean League existed in 303. But 3 β *may* not belong to this period.

The conclusion then is that in the Epidaurus inscription No. 3 we have part of the constitutive act of Demetrius' League of 303, a League of which the literary sources tell us comparatively little, but which is epigraphically attested by three inscriptions of Eretria (*I.G.* xii. 9. 198, 199, 210). Details of procedure apart, we see that Demetrius' League was primarily (though not exclusively) based on cities, that it was planned on a Panhellenic scale, and that, after Cassander was overthrown, it was to meet at the four Panhellenic festivals. The adoption of the system of πρόεδροι was meant as a compliment to Athens.



The inscription also confirms the well-established fact that Antigonus I regarded himself (and Demetrius) as standing in Alexander's place and monarch of the whole empire; for Demetrius envisages the day when, himself in Asia, he shall hand over the conduct of the League's affairs to a general appointed 'for the common protection,' just as Alexander had entrusted them, under the same title, to Antipater.

W. W. TARN.

## BRONZE WORK OF THE GEOMETRIC PERIOD AND ITS RELATION TO LATER ART

‘In the pottery of the Geometric style,’ says Dr. Buschor in his *Greek Vase Painting*,<sup>1</sup> ‘are latent the forces which we see afterwards expanding in contact with the East as well as the oldest beginnings that we can trace of that brilliant continuous development which led to the proud heights of Klitias, Euphronios and Meidias. Its producers may be unreservedly described as Greeks.’

The statement is a challenge to the less cautious supporters of the continuity of Bronze and Iron Age culture in Greece. But it is concerned only with vases and vase-painting. One is tempted to search farther afield for fuller illumination, particularly in branches of art other than vase-painting. Whatever stage of development a culture may be in, it always requires pottery, however crude and in however small a quantity, since pottery is for use: objects purely ornamental, however, can, under certain circumstances, be dispensed with. In pottery, therefore, a certain minimum of continuity in tradition and inheritance from previous cultures is inevitable; but in the arts of pure adornment this may not be the case. Thus sculpture and bronze work are branches of art which may remain submerged during periods of unrest and upheaval. Peoples on the move will not burden themselves with works of art; conquerors in the flush of victory have not the inclination nor the conquered the courage or incentive to develop the non-utilitarian arts and crafts. Thus the continuity of the Bronze and Iron Ages in Greece may be tested by evidence other than that of pottery; metal-work in particular may afford instructive evidence, especially ornaments in bronze, which, from their nature and material, might contain the germ of revival and continuity.

I propose, then, in the course of this paper, to examine some of the earliest known examples of the bronze-worker’s art of post-Mycenaean times, both from the point of view of the technique employed and of the types most favoured. The results may help to throw some light on the relation which the cruder plastic works of Geometric art bear to fully developed Hellenic art.

That the period of unrest and upheaval in history which corresponds to the so-called Geometric period in art produced no sculpture seems certain. On *a priori* grounds it seems almost incredible that sculpture, however crude, can have been achieved at least in the tenth and ninth centuries B.C. In fact no examples of it have been found. That the earliest and crudest bronzes of Geometric times are not studied is principally due to the fact that they are

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<sup>1</sup> P. 18, Mr. Richards’ translation.

almost wholly unattractive, often ludicrous. Yet, standing, as they do, at the threshold of Hellenic art their importance is manifest.<sup>2</sup>

*Technique.*—The method of manufacture of the crudest and earliest Geometric bronze figures is not so much the method of bronze-casting as that of bronze-welding. The simplest human figures (see Figs. 4. *b* and 7. *a, b, c*) in bronze consist of one or more bars of bronze which are hammered out into the four component limbs. The legs, as a rule, remain together and are barely separated, consisting of two parallel bars. The arms consist of smaller bars welded on or bent and beaten into the required attitude. The waist is the central body of the bar, and the shoulders and breast are formed by flattening the upper part of the bar itself. The narrowness of the waist is increased and emphasised by the cutting away of the arms.<sup>3</sup> These 'fiddle-shaped' waists are the result of technique and are, I think, in no way derived from Mycenaean or Cycladic 'fiddle-shaped' idols. The head and neck are achieved by the working of the end of the bar. All other bronzes of the crudest Geometric type are similarly formed. Welding, cutting and beating are the three processes principally employed.

It is thus abundantly clear that the earliest bronze figures exhibit none of the characteristics of the fine and elaborate works of art of the Cretan bronze-casters. The Tyliossos bronzes,<sup>4</sup> the praying figure in the British Museum of the Tyliossos type,<sup>5</sup> and the magnificent bull and athlete recently acquired by Captain E. G. Spencer-Churchill<sup>6</sup> are the products of an age which had mastered the art of solid bronze-casting. The Tyliossos and similar figures have the appearance of having been cast from clay models; the fine bull and athlete group is, according to Sir Arthur Evans, in all probability cast from a finer model which may have been of wax. In any case welding and beating and such simpler and cruder processes are not part of the stock-in-trade of the Cretan bronze-worker. It is remarkable that we have, as yet, no examples of earlier Cretan bronze craft in which these Geometric processes occur. Throughout the history of Cretan art bronzes were made, as far as we know, by the one process of casting. With the cruder Geometric figures, on the other hand, welding and beating is the earliest stage; there comes next an intermediate stage in which the figure is first cast and then treated with the hammer and chisel. Thus the body of a Zeus from Dodona (Fig. 4. *b*) is composed from the original bar cut and subdivided into limbs. But its hair and features are rendered with the chisel. Two later figures from Arcadia of the same type (Fig. 4. *a, c*) are, on the other hand, cast and then finished with the finer

<sup>2</sup> The examples I have chosen for discussion are nearly all at Athens, where is by far the largest and finest collection of Geometric bronzes in existence. The larger European and American museums have but few bronzes of this period; their style and workmanship is not such as to appeal to collectors by whose agency most of the large museums outside Greece are stocked. The bulk of the Geometric bronzes at Athens are the result of excavations such as those

at Olympia, Argos and the Acropolis.

<sup>3</sup> See De Ridder, *Cat. des Bronzes trouvés sur l'Acrop.*, Nos. 692-694, 697, etc.

<sup>4</sup> J. Hazzidakis, *Tyliossos à l'époque minoenne*, 1921, Pl. VI., and F. N. Pryce, *J.H.S.* 41, 1921, p. 86 ff., and Fig. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Pryce, *op. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> Sir Arthur Evans, *J.H.S.* 41, 1921, p. 247 ff. A single and not a double mould was probably used for this figure.

tools, the features, in particular, being simply chiselled in. A helmeted warrior of the 'Promachos' type from Dodona (Fig. 7, c) is similarly finished after casting, though it retains, more than most bronzes, the appearance of the older 'bar technique.'

The final stage is not properly reached until the sixth century, when the figure is, as with the Cretan bronzes, cast complete in every detail in one process. Even then finishing touches are often added with the chisel (see Fig. 6. a, b. two fine bronzes from Olympia).

Thus not until the sixth century, strictly speaking, did the art of making small bronze figures attain once more the level reached by the Cretan bronze-workers of Middle Minoan times.

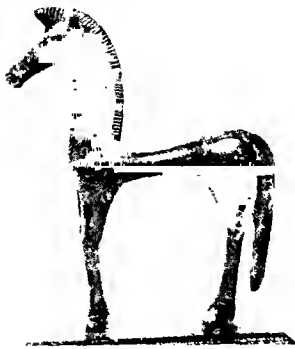


FIG. 1.—BRONZE HORSE  
FROM OLYMPIA.



FIG. 2.—BRONZE GROUP OF MAN  
AND CENTAUR: NEW YORK.

*Development of types.*—I have chosen four principal type-groups as being most clearly illustrative of the development of traditional types from the earliest Geometric times to the period of full Hellenic art. None of these types is to be found in pre-Geometric art in a clear and unequivocal way.

*The Horse.*—The first is the standing or walking horse made to be seen *en profile*. One of the most finely finished examples comes from Olympia (Fig. 1). Similar bronze figures of horses are found on almost all the Geometric sites of the mainland of Greece, from Laconia to the Vardar valley on the east and from Olympia to Leukas on the west.<sup>7</sup> Horses of the same type, sometimes with minor variations of treatment, are found farther north in Central Europe at Hallstatt and other Iron Age sites,<sup>8</sup> and the type is found again more to the east in the Iron Age cemeteries of the southern Caucasus.<sup>9</sup> The extreme popularity of this particular type of ornament in Greece is remark-

<sup>7</sup> See my paper in the *Antiquaries' Journal*, I. No. 3, p. 199. Examples are there collected from a large number of sites in the mainland.

<sup>8</sup> See Hoernes, *Uryesch. d. hdl. Kunst*,

Pl. XV., and von Sacken, *Grabfeld von Hallstatt*, Pl. XV.

<sup>9</sup> Chantre, *Recherches anthropologiques dans le Caucase*, II p. 149 (Georgian).

able. Variations of an interesting type are seen at Olympia,<sup>10</sup> and approximately the same type appears in ivory work at Sparta.<sup>11</sup> It is finally seen in a fully developed form in the magnificent cavalry frieze of Prinias in Crete,<sup>12</sup> where all the essential characteristics of the bronze Geometric horses are retained—the narrow barrel-shaped body, the long tail reaching almost to the ground, the hogged mane and the large, clearly-marked hooves. The mounted warrior is himself a variant of the 'Promachos' type of spearman of the crude Geometric bronzes dealt with below. The horse is essentially the large, long-legged Northern horse, like the modern Hungarian type, which bears affinities to the type of horse of the Hallstatt culture, which was large-limbed and tall.<sup>13</sup> The same type of horse is seen in later classical art in the coins of Tarentum<sup>14</sup> and of Alexander I. of Macedon,<sup>15</sup> and is very different from the small horse of Ionic art of the sixth century or of the Parthenon frieze.

These early bronze figures of horses, then, appear to be derived from a Northern source and to belong to a tradition which is essentially that of the Geometric culture of Greece. It survived in classical art most clearly in the sculptures of the temple of Prinias in Crete, where, as in the Dictæan cave many of the elements of Geometric art remained less influenced by the Orient than was usually the case.



FIG. 3 (a, b, c).—BRONZE CENTAURS (a) FROM OLYMPIA, (b) AND (c) FROM THE ACROPOLIS AT ATHENS.

*The Centaur.*—The second type that originates for later plastic art in the bronzes of the Geometric period is the Centaur. I give here four examples<sup>16</sup> (Figs. 2 and 3, a, b, c) that show adequately the development from the crudest Geometric figure of the 'bar technique' through the medium of what might be termed a 'sub-Geometric' type to the fully-developed archaic art of the

<sup>10</sup> *Olympia*, Bronzes, Pl. XIV. Nos. 216–218.

<sup>11</sup> *B.S.A.* XIII. p. 78, Fig. 17, a.

<sup>12</sup> *Annuario della Sc. Ital. in Atene*, I. p. 52.

<sup>13</sup> See Pumpelly, *Explorations in Turkey*, 1908. II. Pl. 88, Fig. 1.

<sup>14</sup> *B.M.C. Italy*, p. 184, etc.

<sup>15</sup> *B.M.C. Macedon*, p. 156.

<sup>16</sup> Fig. 2 is of unknown provenance, now in New York. Fig. 3a is from Olympia, and the other two (b and c) from the Acropolis at Athens.

sixth century. In each case the Centaur seems to have carried on a shoulder the Centaur's traditional weapon—the branch of a tree. To the earliest period of crude bronze work belongs the most interesting group in New York of a Centaur wrestling with a man;<sup>17</sup> but it is of fine finish and indicates a considerable originality of composition, which, in the Geometric period is, of course, exceptional. The long tail that joins the base, the large flanks and narrow barrel of the Centaur, the incised pattern on the base and the shape of the base itself show that it belongs to the same period as the horses.

That these four examples of Centaurs represent the types of three distinct periods of growth and not merely three unequal attempts more or less contemporary is susceptible of proof. Thus the horse body and the base of the first two (Figs. 2 and 3, *a*) are identical in style and convention with those of the horses of the earliest period of bronze work described above. The narrow barrel and long legs are those of the usual bronze horses. That such horses belong to the earliest period of bronze work in Geometric times is evident from the stratification at Sparta, which is our only scientifically established criterion. The period when these bronzes were first produced seems to have been when Geometric culture was already firmly established and bronze first began to be used for pure ornament and not simply for objects of use.<sup>18</sup> The crudest Centaur, therefore (Fig. 3, *a*), can be attributed to the earliest period of bronze art on sound stratigraphical evidence.

The third Centaur (Fig. 3, *b*) can, on stylistic grounds, be associated with a large group of bronzes, terra-cottas and sculpture that exhibit the first attempt of Greek art to escape from the purely Geometric conventions. In this figure the Geometric stiffness is overcome to a certain extent and the features are clearly evolved and carefully worked. But there is still a clumsiness of execution and a rigidity of composition; gestures are there without expression, movement without life—but this, at any rate, is an advance upon the almost symbolic schematism of the earlier figure. The same characteristics are seen in the famous archaic sculpture group of Kitylos and Dirmyos at Athens. In detail the features of the face and the neatly arranged hair associate this bronze with bronzes such as the beautiful figure from Delphi<sup>19</sup> or the cruder and probably earlier figure from the Acropolis at Athens,<sup>20</sup> both of which must belong to the seventh century.

In the fourth example the real living spirit of Greek art has burst its bonds. All the freshness and delicacy of Ionian art of the late sixth century has transformed the dry bones of the old Geometric style into a vital and living conception; but without the old Geometric idea the final achievement would hardly have been possible.

*Zeus.*—A third and equally instructive example is seen in a type that has persisted through all the phases of plastic Greek art with singularly little variation. It represents Zeus hurling a thunderbolt. A crude example of this type of the Geometric period comes from Dodona<sup>21</sup> (Fig. 4, *b*). It exempli-

<sup>17</sup> Richter, *Handbook to the Met. Museum*, p. 44, Fig. 23.

<sup>18</sup> See *B.S.A.* XIII. p. III. They were not found in the lowest strata.

<sup>19</sup> *Bronzes*, Pl. III.

<sup>20</sup> De Ridder, *Catalogue*, p. 244, No. 697.

<sup>21</sup> Carapanos, *Dodone et ses ruines*, Pl. XIII. 4.

fies most clearly what I have called the 'bar technique.' The limbs are literally hewn apart from the body and beaten into rounded bars. By the separation of the arms from the sides a pronounced waist is formed, but the whole figure



FIG. 4 (*a, b, c*).—BRONZE FIGURES OF ZEUS; (*a*) AND (*c*) FROM ARCADIA, (*b*) FROM DODONA.

is hardly more than a heavy silhouette. The features, as in all similar Geometric features, are sketchy and vague.

Two later examples from Arcadia (Fig. 4, *a, c*) show a more successful development from the cruder prototype, but cast, and not worked in the 'bar technique.'



FIG. 5.—BRONZE FIGURE OF ZEUS.



FIG. 6 (*a, b*).—BRONZE FIGURES OF ZEUS FROM OLYMPIA.

A fourth example (Fig. 5) seems to belong to a transitional period between 'bar technique' and casting. The figure is cast but the shapes and outline of the 'bar technique' are retained. The features are crude but not so sketchy as in the Dodona example.

Fig. 6, *a, b*, shows the final development of the type in full fifth-century art. Both come from Olympia.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup> *Bronzes*, Pl. VII 43, 45.

*Warrior.*—In the bronze figures of warriors brandishing spears, which are so common in the Geometric period, the 'bar technique' is seen most clearly. Here, in nearly every case, the sides of the bar are cut away and bent round to form arms, while the lower part of the bar is divided into two parts for legs. This being the simplest form of the technique, it was found that the warrior brandishing a spear lent itself most readily to the method. For this



FIG. 7 (*a, b, c*).—BRONZE FIGURES OF WARRIORS; (*a*) FROM CORINTH, (*b*) FROM DELPHI, (*c*) FROM DODONA.

reason more instances of this type are found than of any other and the type became the more easily perpetuated. Three examples are here given<sup>23</sup> (Fig. 7, *a, b, c*), of which the first two clearly belong to the earliest period of Geometric bronze art, while the third, which is cast, again exhibits the transition from 'bar technique' to casting.

*Attic features.*—Finally, I propose to examine the continuity of Geometric and classical art from a slightly different point of view that concerns rather



FIG. 8.—HEADS OF BRONZE FIGURES FROM THE ACROPOLIS AT ATHENS.

the latest than the earliest phase of Geometric and sub-Geometric bronze work. Here, in my opinion, it is possible to trace, at least in Attic art, the gradual development from the earliest period of plastic art the features characteristic of the Attic face, which reaches its final and developed perfection in the *poros*

<sup>23</sup> From Corinth, Delphi and Dodona respectively. (National Museum, Nos. 7729, 7415, and Carapanos. 33.)



sculptures of the Acropolis. All my examples come from Attica—the majority from the Acropolis itself. I am not concerned in this series with the technique of the body.

It may be more convenient to tabulate the examples with which I shall deal.

1. From the Acropolis. Now in the National Museum, No. 6627. De Ridder, *Catalogue des bronzes*, No. 697, p. 244, Fig. 214. Head and flattened body to the waist of a bronze human figure (Fig. 8).

2. From the Acropolis. Now in the National Museum, No. 6628. De Ridder, No. 50, p. 20, Fig. 1. Bronze figure of a warrior in a helmet (Fig. 8).



FIG. 9.—HEAD OF BRONZE FIGURE FROM THE ACROPOLIS AT ATHENS.

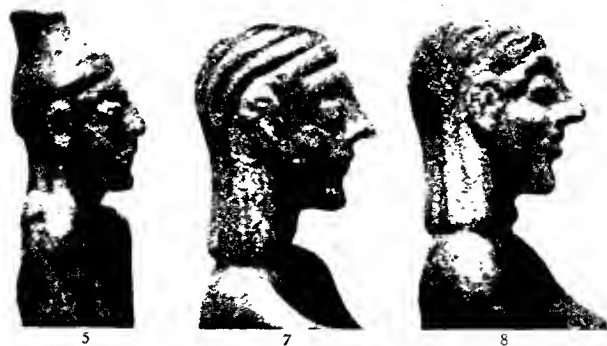


FIG. 10.—HEADS OF BRONZE FIGURES FROM THE ACROPOLIS AT ATHENS.

3. From the Acropolis. Now in the National Museum, No. 6613. De Ridder, No. 702, p. 248, Fig. 219. Bronze figure of a man wearing a conical cap of an oriental type (Fig. 8).

4. From the Acropolis. Now in the National Museum, No. 6494. De Ridder, No. 819, p. 330, Fig. 323. Bronze female head surmounted by a cushion and a concave disc (Fig. 9).

5. From the Acropolis. Now in the National Museum, No. 6612. De Ridder, No. 701, p. 247, Fig. 218. Bronze male figure wearing a conical helmet or cap (Fig. 10).

6 (a). Silver tetradrachm of Athens. Formerly in the possession of M. Feuarent, Paris. Weight 17.70 grammes (Fig. 11).

(b) Silver tetradrachm of Athens. From the Philippsen collection. Weight 16.93 grammes (Fig. 11).

7. From the Acropolis. Now in the National Museum, No. 6618. De Ridder, No. 699, p. 246, Fig. 216. Bronze male figure (Fig. 10).

8. From the Acropolis. Now in the National Museum, No. 6617. De Ridder, No. 698, p. 245, Fig. 215. Bronze figure almost identical with No. 7 above (Fig. 10).



FIG. 11.—SILVER TETRADRACHMS OF ATHENS OF THE EARLIEST TYPE.

9 (a). Silver tetradrachm of Athens. Now in the British Museum (*B.M. C. Attica*, Pl. I. 6) (Fig. 12).

(b). Silver tetradrachm of Athens. Now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (Fig. 12).

10. Painted clay plaque from Olympos in Attica. Now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. Richter, *Handbook*, p. 56, Fig. 32. The scene represents four mourners at a bier upon which lies a corpse (Fig. 13).



FIG. 12.—SILVER TETRADRACHMS OF ATHENS OF THE EARLIEST TYPE.

11. Fragments of a Proto-Attic vase from the Kynosarges cemetery, Athens. Some of the fragments are now in the National Museum, Athens, and some in the possession of the British School at Athens. See *J.H.S.* 1902, Pls. II.–IV. and p. 29, and *J.H.S.* 1912, p. 383. The decoration shows a bearded man standing in a two-horsed chariot and a charioteer holding the reins. A third figure stands behind the chariot (Fig. 14).

12. Figure in *poros* limestone of a maiden from the so-called "Erechtheion Pediment." Now in the Acropolis Museum. See Dickins, *Acropolis Museum Catalogue*, I. p. 68, and Heberdey, *Altattische Porosskulptur*, Pl. II. (Fig. 15).

13. Silver tetradrachm of Athens now in the collection of M. Empedocles. Athens (Fig. 16).

All the examples in this series are derived directly from the original fount of Attic art. Whatever alien or external influences may appear in them are incidental and do not hide the essentially Attic characteristics which appear

in each of the series after the first two. Thus, according to De Ridder, No. 4 shows 'Egypto-Phoenician' influence, whatever this term may mean. The hair above the brow in this instance he further compares to that of a well-known Mycenaean ivory head.<sup>24</sup> De Ridder further considers the conical caps worn by the figures Nos. 3 and 5 to be of an Assyrian or Cypriote type.

What is important, however, is that the features of the faces and the general type of the figures is neither Assyrian, Mycenaean nor 'Egypto-Phoenician.' That they were all made in Athens seems most probable in view of the fact that in Nos. 7 and 8 we have two figures that differ slightly and are clearly from the same workshop. Nos. 2, 3, and 5 exhibit the same technique and style and it seems unnecessary to assume that such figures are importations.

No. 1, although from Attica, shows not so much an Attic work of art as one which belongs to the end of the full Geometric period. It belongs to a type and a school of art which are found in a known and limited area. The Argolid, Laconia, Arcadia, Attica and Phocis have afforded numerous examples of this very rigid but clearly-cut art. One might say that the eastern half of the Corinthian gulf and the whole of the Saronic formed the centre round which the artists of this school grouped themselves. The rigid style of the hair and the flat, ugly treatment of the face is all that Geometric art could effect in its first essay at features and detail. Hitherto the body alone had been successfully achieved and the features were barely indicated. The same artistic traditions appear in the earliest sculpture of the seventh century of the Argolid,<sup>25</sup> Arcadia,<sup>26</sup> Laconia<sup>27</sup> and Delphi,<sup>28</sup> but not in Attica. In Crete, especially at Prinias,<sup>29</sup> it survives much later into the sixth century. This widespread style formed the nucleus from which subsequently the more brilliantly developed local schools of Greece broke away upon courses of their own. It forms the firm basis of subsequent Greek art and is evolved in and by the mainland of Greece itself.

No. 2 shows a considerable advance upon this uniform style and has elements of what later develops into the Attic style.

In Nos. 3, 4, and 5 appear the first traces of one of the many oriental elements that, by the offer of new ideas and new types, were to stimulate the uninspired repetition of Geometric art into life and style. Already, with the appearance of these external alien influences the true Attic features are forming. The thick lips, broad, square face, large eyes and prominent nose which persist in Attic art down to the middle of the sixth century are already definite, at least in Nos. 4 and 5, which, nevertheless, retain the strong rigid technique of the last Geometric works.

In Nos. 6 (a) and 6 (b) we see the same features on coins of Attica itself. Precisely the same type of face is seen on the tetradrachms of the Acropolis hoard,<sup>30</sup> but these are, for the most part, so damaged by the fire of the

<sup>24</sup> Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art*, VI. p. 811, Fig. 389.

<sup>25</sup> The Apollo of Tenca, and cf. *Delphi*, *Sculpt.* Pl. I.

<sup>26</sup> Stais, *Cat. Nat. Mus. Athens*, Nos. 6, 57.

<sup>27</sup> Wace and Tod, *Sparta Mus. Cat.* p. 120.

<sup>28</sup> *Delphi*, Bronzes, Pl. III.

<sup>29</sup> *Annuario*, l.c.

<sup>30</sup> *Journ. Internat. Numismat.* I. Pl. I.A.

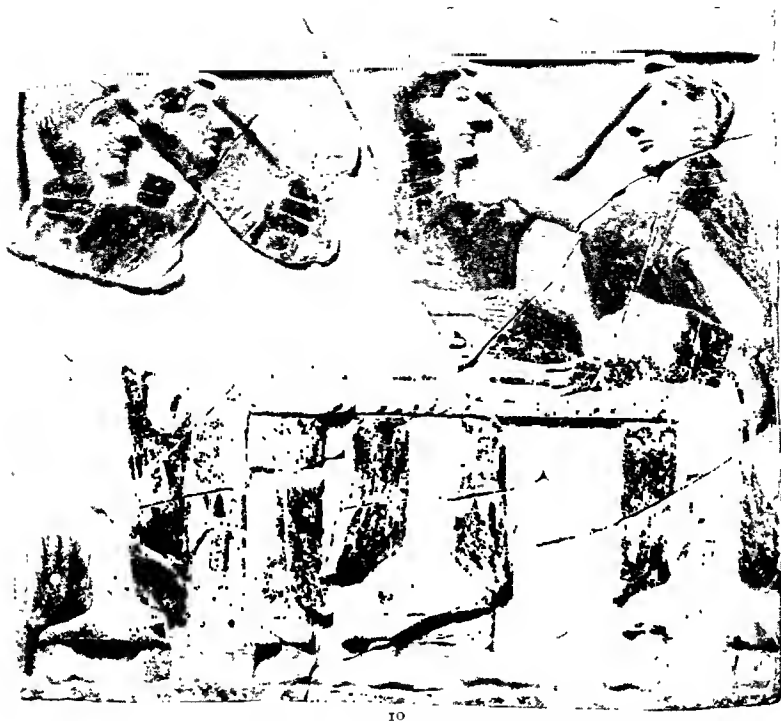


FIG. 13.—TERRA-COTTA RELIEF: FUNERAL SCENE. FROM OLYMPOS IN ATTICA.

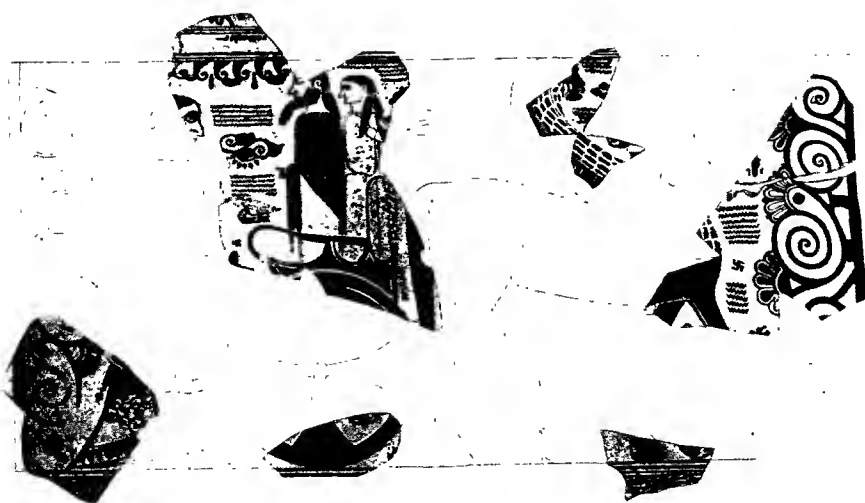


FIG. 14.—FRAGMENTS OF A PROTO-ATTIC VASE FROM THE KYNOSARGES CEMETERY, NOW AT ATHENS.

Persian destruction that they do not illustrate my point so clearly as better preserved coins of the same type. It has long been held by many numismatists that the coins of this crude type are barbaric imitations of finer types. Professor P. Gardner considers them to be the coins struck for the troops of Xerxes while they were in Greece, and sees confirmation of his view in the discovery of the Acropolis hoard and in the similar hoard found on the Xerxes canal in Chalcidice.<sup>31</sup> Imhoof-Blumer and J. P. Six similarly held them to be barbaric, but the former attributed them to the time of Cleisthenes and the latter to that of Hippias.<sup>32</sup>

But from the stylistic evidence of the series of monuments here given it is clear that the type of head on these so-called 'barbaric' coins falls into its place in the development of the characteristic Attic face; its position, moreover, is by no means late in the series. This seems effectually to dispose of the theory that these coins are barbaric imitations and supports the view of Head,<sup>33</sup> who considered them to be the earliest coins of any land bearing the type of the human head. The features of the head of Athena on the coins Nos. 6 (a) and (b) and 9 (a) and (b) are almost identical with the features of the two bronzes Nos. 7 and 8. The large ears, level eyes, prominent heavy nose and square chin are common to all, and are precisely the features characteristic of faces on proto-Attic pottery, as in the case of the vase No. 11 or the splendid plaque No. 10. But whether, chronologically, the bronzes precede the proto-Attic pottery by any very great length of time it is impossible to say. The coins, in any case, can hardly be as early as the Kynosarges vase, which falls in date between the Aegina vase of Perseus and the Harpies<sup>34</sup> and the fine vase in New York<sup>35</sup>—approximately to a date about 650 B.C.

The final development in early Attic art of this Attic type of face is seen in No. 12, the beautiful maiden of the 'Erechtheion Pediment,' which dates to about 550 B.C. Here the harsher features of the earlier faces are softened. Another Athenian tetradrachm, No. 13, shows this finally perfected face in all its purity before it had become radically changed by the refined and rather over-delicate features of the Ionic art that flooded Attica after 540 B.C.<sup>36</sup>

From all these examples, then, of the Attic face it is possible to trace a steady development from the harsher and more widespread mainland Geometric and sub-Geometric types to the purest Attic. The general type has become specialised. So, too, in Aegina, in Argos and elsewhere, other local types and styles were differentiated and the local schools of art grew up from the one common stem. Even as far down in the line of development as the Olympos plaque the *composition* is taken ultimately from the funeral scenes depicted on the earliest Geometric vases of the Dipylon.

<sup>31</sup> *History of Ancient Coinage*, p. 154.

<sup>32</sup> Gardner, *op. cit.* p. 153.

<sup>33</sup> *Historia Numorum* 2, p. 369.

<sup>34</sup> *A. Z.* 1882, Pls. IX, X.

<sup>35</sup> Richter, *J.H.S.* 1912, p. 370.

<sup>36</sup> There are, of course, other arguments to support this view, which do not properly belong to the subject of this paper. Thus,

for instance, there is no adequate reason why either the democracy of Cleisthenes, Hippias, or the army of Xerxes should strike such rude coins. The two former had admirable Attic artists available, while Ionians in the Persian army would almost certainly have been employed. After all, the Persians were hardly barbarians in art.

The examples of the Geometric horse, the Centaurs, spearmen and the Zeus figures are important in that they show the preservation of type from the earliest phases of pure Geometric plastic art. From the bronze horses of Olympia to the frieze of Prinias, from the crude bronze Centaurs to the metopes of the Parthenon, from the spearmen to the Athena Promachos, and from the Dodona Zeus to the perfected statuettes of Olympia there is a course of development which makes it possible to reconstruct, however provisionally, the obscurer phases of early Greek art. These strange and unattractive bronze



12

FIG. 15.—LIMESTONE HEAD OF MAIDEN FROM AN ARCHAIC PEDIMENTAL SCULPTURE ON THE ACROPOLIS AT ATHENS.



13

FIG. 16.—SILVER TETRADRACHM OF ATHENS OF MORE DEVELOPED TYPE.

toys of the earliest Geometric time, uninspiring though they be, must be considered in the light of the development of Greek art from the Geometric to the Classic. So, too, the crude bronzes of the Acropolis all fall into line in the detailed development of Attic art itself.

The break in tradition of technique that is evident between the Cretan and Geometric bronzes indicates that, in bronze working at least, the new stock of Iron Age Greece had carried on none of the customs of the preceding Bronze Age. The gap between the two cultures remains unbridged, and Cretan bronzes had been long forgotten when the bronze-craftsmen of Geometric times first started to work.

S. CASSON.

## TRACES OF THE RHAPSODE

### AN ESSAY ON THE USE OF RECURRENT SIMILES IN THE *Iliad*

'I was not about to dispute the point, Tim,' said young Cheeryble, laughing. . . . 'All I was going to say was, that I hold myself under an obligation to the coincidence, that's all.'

'Oh! if you don't dispute it, that's another thing. I'll tell you what, though—I wish you had. I wish you or anybody would. I would so put down that man,' said Tim . . . 'so put down that man by argument——.'—*Nicholas Nickleby*.

#### I

WE know roughly, says Prof. Murray,<sup>1</sup> how a rhapsode set to work. He would be tempted to introduce bright patches. . . . He would abhor the subordination of parts to the whole.

This tendency, he suggests, explains the occurrence both in Θ (555 ff.) and in Π (297 ff.) of the well-known description of a cloudless sky: 'Such lovely lines, once heard, were a temptation to any rhapsode, and likely to recur wherever a good chance offered. The same explanation applies to the multiplied similes of B 455 ff. They are not meant to be taken all together; they are alternatives for the reciter to choose from.'

I quote this pronouncement, not because I want to quarrel with the most generous of scholars, but because it hits on particularly instructive passages. The constellation of similes at B 455 ff. marks, I suggest, a provisional climax in the movement of the poem, and the images here chosen are poetically relevant, not only to the immediate context but to the whole design. Similarly, the image of Θ 555 ff. is not isolated, but provides a climax and a consummation to the whole series of images which decorates the movement Γ–Θ. The kindred, though more impressive, image of Π 297 ff. marks the beginning of yet another series. Finally, these examples illustrate a principle of Homer's art, which has not, I think, been realised by critics. His similes are rarely isolated and detachable decorations, relevant only to their immediate context. More often they are so related to each other, and so arranged, like the incidents, in formal patterns, that they become an important element in the organic structure of the poem. The cunning repetition, heightening and combination of images within his formal pattern is a device not only characteristic of Homer, but also of supreme importance for the appreciation of his art. It provides us also, I shall submit, with a valid argument for the unity of the *Iliad*.

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<sup>1</sup> *History of Greek Literature*, 20–21.

Sing, goddess, the wrath of Achilles, and the evils that it wrought . . . in the accomplishment of the will of Zeus . . . beginning when the son of Atreus quarrelled with the glorious Achilles. The son of Zeus and Leto was angry because of Chryses. . . . Chryses had prayed, but it did not please Agamemnon . . . so Chryses prayed . . . and Apollo, in his anger, came, 'like the night' . . . and shot his arrows, and the pyres of the dead were burning.

Achilles summoned an Assembly. Calchas spoke. Agamemnon's heart grew black with wrath, and his eyes were like a shining fire. He threatened to take away Briseis. Athene intervened to check Achilles. The Assembly continued. Achilles swore that he would leave the fighting, and Nestor tried in vain to restore peace.

Then Agamemnon's second blunder, the taking of Briseis, corresponding in the pattern to the first, the refusal to give up Chryseis.

That is the first group of incidents in the *Iliad*. The second is different, and has its own shape :

Achilles prayed to Thetis. She heard him, as she sat with her old father in the depths of the sea, and she came up from the sea, 'like a mist,' and promised to help her son.

Odysseus and his crew restored Briseis, Chryses prayed, and sacrifice was made to Apollo. The day ended with feast and music and sleep.

Thetis prayed to Zeus in Olympus, and the Thunderer promised his aid. He nodded, and, at the nod of his immortal head, Olympus trembled.

Then the scherzo, the comedy of the Olympian Quarrel, in which Hephaestus was a more successful peacemaker than Nestor. The day ended in feast and song and sleep.

The third group repeats the pattern of the first :

Agamemnon's Dream and the Council; Nestor's Comment.

The Second Assembly, divided, like the first, by an intervention of Athene.

Nestor's advice, Agamemnon's prayer and sacrifice. The army mustered.

The similes are concentrated in this third part. In A we had only the three brief comparisons, 'Apollo came, like the night . . . the pyres were burning'; 'Agamemnon's heart grew black with anger, and his eyes were like shining fire'; and 'Thetis heard, and came, like a mist from the sea.' But the nod of the immortal head of Zeus is also relevant to our inquiry.

In B we have the following similes :

The people, crowding to Assembly, were like bees pouring from a cleft in a rock, clustering on spring flowers. Gossip blazed among them. The earth groaned beneath them.

After Agamemnon's speech, the Assembly was moved like the waves of the Ikarian sea stirred by the east wind or the south; like a cornfield bowing under the west wind.

When Odysseus and Athene drove them back, they returned to the Assembly with the noise of a wave dashing on a great beach.

After Agamemnon's second speech, they shouted for battle with the noise of a wave dashed by the south wind on a jutting headland.

Finally, when the army mustered, Athene, not Gossip, was with them. The flashing of their armour was like a fire in a mountain-forest. Throng after throng they came (imperfect), like flights of birds, geese, cranes or swans, over a meadow in Asia, and they came to a stand (aorist) in the flowery meadow of Scamander, as numerous as leaves or flowers: they were as greedy and persistent as flies about pails of milk in spring. Their captains marshalled them as easily as goatherds divide their flocks. Agamemnon himself was like Zeus (as to his eyes and head), like Poseidon, like Ares. As a bull in a herd of cows was Agamemnon made eminent by Zeus that day (aorist).



That is all. I submit that the similes are not thrown in at random. The three wave-images form a group, defining clearly the lines of the assembly episode: each repetition adds to the effect. Nor can we miss the connexion between the bees and spring flowers of the first simile and the leaves and flowers and flies round pails of milk in spring of the last paragraph. If Mr. Murray's reciter keeps the bees, he will have to keep the flies and leaves and flowers; and if so, he will have to keep the birds, or spoil his rhapsody. And if we look at the whole movement, we shall recognise, I think, a fitness in the other images. If Apollo came like night, and shot, and the pyres were burning, the army, when it musters, is like a raging forest-fire. If Agamemnon's eyes in his anger were like shining fire, his eyes and head in this moment of his glory are like the eyes and head of Zeus. The movement, which begins 'Achilles . . . Zeus . . . Achilles,' ends, 'So eminent Zeus made Agamemnon on that day.'

There remain isolated images, I admit; Thetis 'like a mist,' the goatherds with their flocks, the bull in the herd of cows. These will be developed in the sequel.

The Catalogue is an Interlude, but between the Greek list and the Trojan there is an instructive simile:

The army of the Greeks was like a fire raging over the whole land. Earth groaned, as beneath the anger of Zeus the Thunderer, when he lashes the earth because of Typhoeus. . . .

It is a heightening of the fire-image, with a hint of coming trouble for the Achaeans. It links the imagery of B with the Catalogue. Let us see what happens after the Trojan list is ended.

The Trojans advanced with a noise like that of birds, cranes, who have left the storm and rain behind, and wing their way through the sky, bringing death for Pygmies. They make ready their battle in the mists of morning. The Greeks were silent.

The dust of the armies was like a mist on the mountains, not dear to shepherds, but better than night for a thief. You can only see as far as a stone's throw.

The birds, the mist and the herdsmen. If  $\Gamma$  was made by a later hand than A, and if B was made by yet another artist, anyhow it was a cunning craftsman who contrived the joinery.<sup>2</sup>

## II

Herodotus<sup>3</sup> quotes Z 289-292 as part of Diomed's *Aristeia*. He and his audience wanted a name for the whole strip of narrative,  $\Gamma$ -H, and they naturally called it after the hero whose exploits form the main part of its story. Diomed's own adventures have a unity and relevance of their own within

<sup>2</sup> A 47, 104, 359, B 87, 142, 206, 394, 455 ff., 780 ff.,  $\Gamma$  1 ff. I am indebted to H. Fränkel, *Homerische Gleichnisse*, for a few references which I had overlooked. To Professor Bury, who was good enough to read this article in proof and to suggest

an important modification, I am very much indebted.

<sup>3</sup> Hdt. I. 116. Drerup's ingenious explanation (*Fünfte Buch* 47, *Homerische Poetik* I. 438) is unnecessary.

this larger group of incidents.<sup>4</sup> But the larger group has also unity and relevance. The cause of the whole war, as of the present trouble, is a quarrel for a woman. So the poet, sketching in his background, shows us Menelaus, Paris, Helen and Aphrodite, symbol of that source of human sorrow. And he makes Aphrodite Diomed's first Olympian victim. He makes the meeting of Sarpedon and Tlepolemus the central scene of a symmetrical pattern. Then he puts Ares, god of the worse plague, war, to balance Aphrodite. With Hecuba for Priam, Ajax for Menelaus, Hector for Paris and Andromache for Helen, he rounds off his pattern, and prepares us for the sequel.

But he subordinates this pattern also to a larger scheme. Γ is linked with B by the images at the beginning, H with Θ both by the prominence of Diomed, now turned back by the thunderbolt of Zeus, and by the pattern of the images, which cuts across the sharp division of the narrative, and is completed only with the watchfires at the end of Θ. Θ again is linked with I by the balancing of a Greek and a Trojan assembly.<sup>5</sup> That is as it should be. We are brought back to the tone of A, with its assemblies and supplications, its long speeches, and its lack of similes. The movement which began when Agamemnon spurned the suppliant Chryseis ends with the rejection by the tragic hero of the Achaean prayers.

The contents of Γ-Θ may be tabulated thus :

*First Battle.*

Paris challenges. Helen and Priam. The Oath-Taking. Paris v. Menelaus.  
 Pandarus breaks the truce.  
 Agamemnon's review, and the insult to Diomed.  
 Death of Pandarus.  
 Diomed v. Aphrodite.  
 Sarpedon v. Tlepolemus.  
 Diomed v. Ares.  
 Hector withdraws to Troy.  
 Diomed talks with Glaucus, and the two men make friends.  
 Hector and Hecuba. The Supplication. Hector and Andromache. Hector v. Ajax  
 Night. Assemblies, truce, the wall and burial of the dead.

*Second Battle.*

Divine Assembly. Hera and Athene in their chariot.  
 Greek defeat. Diomed turned back by thunderbolt.  
 Hera tries to rouse Poseidon.  
 Greek defeat. Teucer's archery.  
 Hera and Athene in their chariot, turned back.  
 Night. Trojan Assembly. Watchfires. Greek Assembly.

THE EMBASSY TO ACHILLES.

The armies advanced, the Trojans like cranes. The dust was like a mountain mist, not dear to shepherds. The similes link Γ with B, but that, we shall find, does not exhaust their significance.

<sup>4</sup> I have discussed this matter in *J.H.S.* 1920, 49 ff., and in my book, *The Pattern of the Iliad*, 34 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Wilamowitz (*Homer und die Ilias*, 35)

condemns the separation of Θ 524 ff. from I 53 ff., but himself puts asunder what the Muse has joined together, by making a sharp division at the end of E (*ib.* 297).

The first episode, the duel of Menelaus and Paris, begins thus :

Paris challenged and Menelaus rejoiced like a lion who has found his prey.<sup>5</sup> Paris recoiled like a man who has met a snake. Hector rebuked him. 'Hector,' he answered, 'you have a heart as hard as a woodcutter's axe, with which he cuts a ship's timber.'

It ends with Menelaus, cheated by Aphrodite, going up and down the field, and looking for his prey like a wild beast.

These are the only images of immediate structural importance. In the oath-taking there are none at all. In the *Teichoscopia* there is a group of three, the old men chirping like cicadas, Odysseus like a ram (Agamemnon in B was a bull), and the words of Odysseus 'like snow.' I shall try to mention all developed similes as they occur. The reader will judge for himself how far I do justice to their relative importance in the poem.<sup>6</sup>

The second incident begins with a divine colloquy and the intervention of Athene, who incites Pandarus to break the truce. She came like a star, hurled by Zeus as a portent to sailors or to a host; it flashes; many sparks fly from it. When Menelaus was wounded, she saved him from serious hurt, brushing away the arrow which had touched him as a mother brushes a fly from her sleeping child. Still, the blood flowed and stained his flesh as a Maeonian or Carian woman stains ivory with crimson. Machaon tended him.

Agamemnon, indignant, mustered his men again for battle. He chid the laggards. 'Why do you stand terrified, like fawns?' He found Idomeneus with his Cretans, bold as a boar. The cloud of footmen with the Ajaxes was like a cloud seen by a goatherd from his look-out on the mountains, as it is driven towards him by the west wind over the sea. He shivers and withdraws his flock into a cave.<sup>7</sup>

That development of the 'mist on the mountains, not dear to shepherds' is the only full simile in the episode of the Review.

Agamemnon passes on. He has his interviews with Nestor and Odysseus. When he reaches Diomed, his patience is exhausted, and he insults him. Diomed answers with the modesty of a good soldier.

The battle is resumed, and once more we have a group of similes :

The Greeks are like a great wave driven by the west wind on a beach; the Trojans like sheep bleating as they are milked, and answering the lambs. Ares and Athene are with them, and Strife, the sister of Ares, is in the midst. Like the wave, she is tiny at first, then rears her head until it touches the sky. Finally the armies meet, and the noise is like the sound of two torrents in a mountain-chasm heard by the shepherd from above.<sup>8</sup>

Structurally, this group resumes the effect of Γ 1 ff. The waves here, like the cranes there, link this movement with B. But the shepherd who at Γ 10 ff. was wrapt in mist, and at Δ 275 ff. descried a cloud approaching and withdrew his flock, now hears the noise of the torrents meeting in the chasm below. For the moment, that is all.

The fight ensued. Echeplōs fell 'like a tower.' The armies fought 'like wolves.' Then Simoeisios fell. This was a young man, cut off in his

<sup>5</sup> Γ 2, 10, 23, 30, 60 (151, 196, 222), 449.  
For Hector's heart of iron cf. X 357, Ω 521.

<sup>7</sup> Δ 75, 130, 141, 243, 253, 275.

<sup>8</sup> Δ 422, 433, 442, 452.

prime, the son of Anthemion, the 'Flower-Man,' named after the river on whose bank he was born. Homer invented him, I think, in order to remind us, without undue emphasis, of Achilles. Hit in the breast by Ajax, he fell, and lay like a black poplar in a meadow-pasture, a smooth trunk with branches growing at the top. A carpenter has cut it down with the bright iron, to bend it into a felloe for a car, and it lies there drying by the river. Such was Simoeisios Anthemides, when he was killed by Zeus-born Ajax. Immediately afterwards, Antiphos killed Leukos, friend of Odysseus, and Odysseus, very angry, strode through the ranks of the first fighters, aimed his javelin, and hit a son of Priam, in his anger for the friend who had been killed. And Apollo shouted from the citadel, 'Up, Trojans! The son of Thetis is not fighting.'

That is the development of the theme, so simply introduced by Homer, when Paris said to Hector, 'Your heart is like a woodcutter's axe.'<sup>9</sup> We shall meet the theme again.

We pass to the first exploits of Diomed.

Athene made him glorious. He shone like an autumnal star. He raged in battle like a torrent, swollen by the rains of Zeus, breaking down dykes and fences, ruining the cultivated fields. Wounded by Pandarus, he was like a lion wounded by shepherds but still valiant. He leapt on two sons of Priam, like a lion killing a cow and her calf. He killed Pandarus, but Aeneas defended the body, like a lion. Aphrodite intervened, but Diomed wounded her, and after she had gone he still attacked Aeneas, though Apollo now protected him. Thrice he attacked, and was foiled, but when for the fourth time he rushed on like a daimôn, Apollo shouted, and he yielded in his awe of that great god. Sarpedon upbraided Hector. The Trojans, he said, were shrinking from this Greek as hounds shrink from a lion. Hector rallied them, and the dust on the Achaeans in the fight was like the chaff in a great winnowing. Ares put night on the battle. Ares and Strife together stirred up the fighting. Diomed and the Ajaxes and Odysseus fought stubbornly, like clouds which Zeus has set on the mountains, and which will not leave them, whatever winds may blow. Aeneas still fought well. He killed two victims, who were like lions reared by their mother in the mountain-thickets to prey on farmsteads and at last to be killed by men. They fell and were like tall pinetrees. Finally, Aeneas was put to flight, and Ares came himself against Diomed. The hero yielded to the god. He recoiled, like a man who is daunted when he meets—not a snake, this time—a river in flood.<sup>10</sup>

That completes, for the moment, the pattern. The noise of battle was like two torrents meeting; Diomed was like a torrent; Diomed recoils, like a man daunted by a river in flood. We have also reached the central incident of the series, the encounter of Tlepolemus and Sarpedon. They boast of their origin, and fight. The son of Heracles is killed, and the son of Zeus lies wounded under a tree, the fresh wind blowing to revive him.<sup>11</sup>

The second part of the movement (which, it is important to remember, includes, for our present purpose, Θ), begins quietly. After a little comedy in heaven, Hera and Athene, with the permission of Zeus, drive down between heaven and earth in a marvellous car. The divine steeds carry them at one bound 'as far as a man can see into the misty distance from the watch-point where he sits and looks over the wine-dark sea.' They leave their horses.

<sup>9</sup> Γ 60, Δ 482.

522, 554, 560, 597.

<sup>10</sup> E 5, 87, 136, 161, 305, 436, 476, 499.

<sup>11</sup> E 627-698.

in much mist, where two rivers meet (geographically odd, we are told; but poetically not without value, in view of the two torrents). And they step out to the field 'like doves.'

At the corresponding moment in the first part, the dust of the moving armies was like a mist so thick that you could only see a stone's throw. The Trojans were like noisy cranes flying to battle. The Trojans like fighting cranes, Athene and Hera like doves. Is it possible that Homer smiled as he devised his pattern? He knew what he was about. Presently Athene and Apollo will perch like vultures on the oak of Zeus to watch the duel between Ajax and the Trojan hero. And, in the sequel, Zeus will send his eagle as a sign that he has not abandoned the unhappy Greeks for ever.<sup>12</sup>

Throughout this second part of the movement, the similes are less frequent, but the effect is heightened. The matter is more impressive. Hector is more to us than Paris, Andromache than Helen. Also the poet has elaborated the divine machinery. When the wounded Ares goes up to heaven, he looks to the watching Diomed like a thundercloud, and it is the thunderbolt of Zeus himself, not a mere shout from Apollo, that turns Diomed back at last.<sup>13</sup> Thirdly, many images of the first part are echoed in the facts of the sequel. Thus, the crimson of the Maeonian or Carian women, staining the royal ivory, finds its echo not in a simile, but in the rich embroidery of the robe of Hecuba's vain offering, the work of Sidonian women.<sup>14</sup>

The lions reappear, but in company always with boars. After the arrival of the dovelike goddesses, Odysseus, Diomed and the Ajaxes fought stubbornly, like lions or boars. Ajax and Hector were like lions or boars in their duel, and Hector, in the rout, advanced victorious, like a hound that worries a lion or a boar.<sup>15</sup>

When Pandarus shot his arrow, Athene brushed it from Menelaus, as a mother brushes a stinging fly from her sleeping child. Now, when Teucer, a more honest archer, shoots, he takes refuge with Ajax like a child running to its mother.<sup>16</sup> Athene came like a star, and Diomed was like an autumnal star. Now Athene and Hera drive down in their glorious chariot, and Diomed, in a chariot too, is turned back by the thunderbolt of Zeus. But the stars contrive to shine in less conspicuous place, with greater lustre, as decoration for the robe of Hecuba's offering, and for the exquisite child of Hector and Andromache.<sup>17</sup> The tree-simile finds for the moment its consummation in the famous speech of Glaucus, relating the *Diomedea* to the spirit of the whole epic, 'We mortals, for all our pride, are like the leaves that come and go in their generations in the forest,' and its quality is recalled with a hint of new, more tender developments, when Gorgythion bows his head beneath his helmet as a poppy, heavy with fruit and with the rains of spring.<sup>18</sup>

Finally, our shepherd, once wrapped in mist on the mountain, once shivering as he watched the cloud approaching—the cloud which would not leave the

<sup>12</sup> E 768 ff. (cf. Γ 1 ff.), 778, H 59, Θ 247.

<sup>13</sup> E 864, Θ 169.

<sup>14</sup> Δ 141, Z 289.

<sup>15</sup> E 782, Z 256, Θ 357.

<sup>16</sup> Δ 130, Θ 271.

<sup>17</sup> Z 295, 401.

<sup>18</sup> Z 146 ff., Θ 306.

mountains when it reached them—once listening to the roar of the two torrents meeting in the chasm below, looks out again and rejoices, when the watchfires of the Trojans are as numerous as the stars about the bright moon in a windless sky, when all the stars are seen, and all the peaks and glens and promontories; and above the sky the infinite heaven breaks open.

So much for the first occurrence of this famous simile. Here, at any rate, it completes a pattern, which a 'rhapsode' might have spoilt, but only a constructive poet can have made.<sup>19</sup>

### III

The first movement of the *Iliad* begins with the rejection of Chryses and ends with the rejection of the Achaean embassy. Within this movement, after the introductory group of episodes, the Catalogue is an interlude. The second movement begins at Λ (after the Doloneia),<sup>20</sup> with the arming of Agamemnon and the shout of Strife at the ships. It develops, first slowly, then with increasing rapidity, through the second battle-series, the firing of the ships, the exploits of Patroclus and the struggle over his body, to a provisional conclusion with the rousing of Achilles and his shout from the trench. The *Shield* is, again, an interlude. But it is linked with the main movement by its position between two balancing Assemblies, the meeting in which Hector finally rejects the counsel of Polydamas, and the meeting in which Agamemnon and Achilles are reconciled. With the arming of Achilles, we begin the third and final movement. Thus the first movement begins with the rejection of the suppliant Chryses by Agamemnon, and ends with the rejection by Achilles of the suppliant Achaeans. The second movement brings tragedy for Achilles, and ends with the rejection of good advice by Hector. The third begins with the reconciliation of Achilles and Agamemnon, and ends with the acceptance of the suppliant Priam.

We shall be concerned here with the second movement, from Λ to the rousing of Achilles. This stretch of narrative contains the most disputed passages in Homer, and I do not deny that parts of it are inferior to the work of Homer at his best. Even so, much criticism has been based on ignorance of the main lines of composition. We must learn the technique before we judge the artist.

We shall begin by analysing the narrative from Λ 1 to O 219. Attempts to cut this stretch of poetry into rhapsodies of equal length obscure the structure. Nor will the scheme which fitted Γ-H prove useful. The poet here employs a new device, simple and easy to remember, once you see it, but often missed by critics—I confess I have been of the number—because they are looking for something else, or not looking for anything worth while at all. This is the

<sup>19</sup> Γ 10, Δ 274, 452, Ε 522, Θ 555. The only similes in 1 are the two at the beginning (4, 14) and the comparison of Achilles to a bird foraging for its young (323 ff.).

<sup>20</sup> K is an Interlude, linked by its similes with the main structure (5, 154, 183, 297, 360, 485, 547).

plan. The narrative is composed of alternating scenes of battle and of talk. The wounding of the Greeks is followed by the Exhortations of Nestor to Patroclus, and these in turn by the Trojan successes at the wall. But the alternating scenes are so arranged, in triads, that the pattern has the massive form aba bab (not ababab), bab. In the second triad, Poseidon exhorts the Greeks; then come the exploits of Idomeneus; then, as the third panel, the return and mutual exhortations of the wounded Greeks. This pattern is repeated in the next triad, where two scenes of divine comedy and persuasion frame the Greek victory. After that, we shall have two Trojan successes, framing the paragraph about the rousing of Patroclus. But, for the present, we shall consider only the three sections, A-M, N-Ξ 152, Ξ 153-O 219.

The second movement of the *Iliad* begins, as I have said, with A.<sup>21</sup> Its Introduction nobly recalls the opening paragraphs of the poem. For the form, Achilles, Zeus, Achilles : Apollo, Agamemnon, Apollo, we now have the form, Zeus, Agamemnon, Zeus, Hector and Zeus.

Zeus sent Strife to the ships, to shout, with the portent of battle. Agamemnon armed. On his breastplate were snakes, like rainbows, on his shield a Gorgon, on his belt a snake. Athene and Hera thundered in his honour, but Zeus rained blood, because he meant to hurl to Hades many strong heads. Hector, marshalling his men, was like a baneful star, now brilliant, now obscured by clouds. He gleamed in armour like the lightning of Zeus.

The battle opens with two pictures :

The armies met like lines of reapers facing one another as they cut a swathe of barley or of wheat in the field of a rich man. The sheaves fall thick on the ground. So the Greeks and Trojans leapt on one another, and kept cutting. . . .

While it was morning and the strong day was growing, they hurled their weapons and the people were falling; but at the time when a woodcutter prepares his dinner in the mountain-glade, because his arms are tired of felling the tall trees : he has had enough, and longing takes him for sweet food : at that hour the Danaans broke the enemy. . . .<sup>22</sup>

These reapers are working in the field of death, and the felled trees, as the first part of the *Iliad* has taught us, are an image of the bodies of dead men. Images from the life of field and forest are to play a greater part in the second movement than in the first. And the boars and lions, the fire and wave and torrent, we shall find, are worked into a new pattern.

Agamemnon raged like a lion, like a fire in which a forest collapses. Hector withdrew. Agamemnon still fought like a lion, but was wounded and retired. His pain was like that of a woman in travail.

Hector, attacking Diomed and Odysseus, was like a hunter setting dogs at a boar. He was like a wind falling on the waves. The two Greeks were like boars falling on the dogs. But Paris wounded Diomed, who cried, 'Your arrows only scratch; my spear makes widows of men's wives and orphans of their children.'

Odysseus, alone, was like a boar at bay against dogs and hunters. He was wounded, but rescued by the Ajaxes. Ajax was like a lion scattering jackals who are worrying a

<sup>21</sup> 12 ff. Here I disagree with Prof. Bury in agreement.  
(*J.H.S.* 1922, p. 1), but with his general view and his criticism of Mr. Drerup, I am

<sup>22</sup> A 67 ff., 84 ff.

wounded stag. He was like a river in high flood, a torrent full of the rains of Zeus, sweeping with it many dry oaks, many pines, much rubble, to the sea.

Elsewhere Paris wounded Machaon. Hector came against Ajax, in whom Zeus put terror. He stood helpless, then retired, unwillingly, like a lion slowly driven from a farm, like an ass driven from a field by boys, but not until he has eaten his fill. Then Paris wounded Eurypylos.<sup>23</sup>

That completes this group of incidents. It began with the picture of the reapers, and ends with the ass in the field. It began with the woodcutter and ends with the torrent sweeping the dry oaks and pines to the sea. These trees were left to dry by a woodcutter in the summer by a peaceful river. With the autumn rains the river has become a torrent, which carries them away. Thus the second movement gives new value to the images of the first, when Hector's heart was like an axe, and Simoeisios lay like a poplar left to dry, and Diomed was like a torrent.

After the peaceful interview of Nestor and Patroclus, in which there are no similes, the battle-story is resumed in M. We ended with Ajax, like a lion scattering jackals, like a torrent carrying dry trees and rubble to the sea, like a lion driven slowly from a farm, and like an ass driven out of a field.

We begin again with the description of a flood in which the gods shall some day sweep away to sea the wall, with the logs and stones on which the Achaeans spent their labour. For the present the fire of battle is round it. Hector, raging like a whirlwind, is eager to attack, but the Trojan horses shy at the trench. He is like a boar or lion, attacking dogs and huntsmen who are massed against him like a tower.<sup>24</sup>

Polydamas advised him, and he prudently agreed, that the chariots should be left behind. It is the first hint of the coming tragedy, when Hector shall fatally refuse to follow this man's advice. The Trojans now prepare to attack on foot in five divisions. The list is important, and is easy to remember because the names of the chief leaders are arranged in one of the author's favourite patterns. Hector is at one end, and Sarpedon at the other; in the middle is Asios, the fool; in the second and the fourth divisions, respectively, we find Paris, favourite of Aphrodite, and Aeneas, her son.

Asios, a foil and warning for Hector, disregarded Polydamas, and drove in his horses, which were magnificent, through a gate held open for Greek fugitives. Two champions awaited him :

Polypoites and Leonteus stood as firm as oaks, high-foliaged, deep-rooted, withstanding wind and rain on the mountains. They were like boars who wait on the mountain for the men and dogs, then suddenly break on them sideways, crashing through the bushes. The defenders above hurled their weapons, in a storm like snow, shaken from the clouds by wind. The fool protested to Zeus, 'These Greeks are like wasps or bees : they protect their hive.'

Then Zeus sent a portent, a snake, biting an eagle which has seized it. We remember Agamemnon's blazon. This is no good sign for Hector. Polydamas warns him, but Hector, as a tragic hero must, goes on.

<sup>23</sup> A 113, 129, 155, 172, 239, 269; 292.  
297, 305, 324, 383, 391; 414, 474, 492; 547,  
558.

<sup>24</sup> M 18 ff., 35, 40; 132, 146, 156, 168;  
278 ff.; 293, 299, 375, 385; 421, 435.



Zeus sent a wind and a cloud of dust which covered the Achaeans. The Trojans were encouraged. But the defenders poured down their missiles like the sheets of snow that fall on a day when Zeus shows forth his marvels. He stops the wind, and the fields and promontories and shore are covered: even the wave of the sea, as it washes to the land, is checked.

That brings us to the famous conversation of Sarpedon and his friend, the introduction to Sarpedon's exploit. Sarpedon, roused by Zeus, was like a lion attacking cattle, or a lion, very hungry, who will have a sheep from the farm, though he die for it. He talked with Glaucus, and the Lycians attacked like a black whirlwind. Glaucus was wounded, and fell back, like a tumbler. But Sarpedon tore away part of the battlements.

The fight became equal again. It was like two men, with measures in their hands, disputing about boundaries in a field. It was as nicely poised as the scales of a widow weighing her wool.

I suggest that the flood, the pattern of boars and lions, the trees in the Asios incident, the men in the field, the widow-woman at the end, help to make this episode the structural complement of  $\Lambda$  1-595. And that is what the content of the story also makes it.

Finally, Hector was given even greater glory than Sarpedon. He seized a mighty boulder, carried it in his arms, as a shepherd carries a lamb, broke down a gate, and rushed in, like the night. His eyes were blazing with fire.

The second triad ( $N-\Xi$  152, exhortations of Poseidon, exploits of Idomeneus, return of the Greek leaders) contains the most disputed episodes of the *Iliad*. Its structural value has not, I think, been understood.

Poseidon came, in a marvellous sea-journey.

He exhorted the Ajaxes, and went off 'like a hawk.'<sup>25</sup>

He exhorted the younger men, Meriones, Teucer, etc.

Two phalanxes were formed about the Ajaxes.

The Trojans came on. Hector was like a boulder smashed from a mountain by a torrent. It leaps through the wood, but is stopped when it reaches the plain. So Hector was stopped. Meriones broke his spear, leaving the head of it in the shield of Deiphobus, one of the three chief leaders of the third Asios division. Teucer killed Imbrios, who fell like an ash, cut down by the bronze on a mountain-top. In the fight for the spoils and body, Hector killed Amphimachus, a grandson of Poseidon. But the Ajaxes snatched the body away, like two lions snatching a goat from the hounds, and the head was hurled at Hector's feet.<sup>26</sup>

Poseidon exhorted Idomeneus.

Idomeneus talked with Meriones.

The battle raged like a whirlwind on a very dusty day. So Zeus and Poseidon pulled both ways.<sup>27</sup>

Then the central scene:

Idomeneus killed three victims, Othryoneus, who had been promised Cassandra in marriage, Asios, who fell like an oak or a white poplar or a pine, etc., and Alkathoos, son-

<sup>25</sup> N 62 (cf. 829). At 39 the Trojans fight like a flame or wind (cf. 53, 334, 795,  $\Xi$  16). The simile of 102 ff. is isolated and unimportant.

<sup>26</sup> N 136-205.

<sup>27</sup> N 334. Between 205 and this climax, I notice only (242) Idomeneus 'like lightning,' Meriones (296 ff.) like Ares, going out with his son Phobos to war.

in-law of Anchises. Alkathoos was spell-bound, and stood 'like a pillar of stone or a tree.' Idomeneus declared himself a son of Zeus.

Deiphobus called on Aeneas for help (3rd and 4th divisions combined), and two phalanxes formed about Idomeneus and Aeneas. Idomeneus was like a boar awaiting the huntsmen, and the Trojans followed Aeneas, as sheep follow the ram when they are going to drink: the shepherd rejoices.

In the fight over the body of Alkathoos, Idomeneus killed Oenomaus and Askalaphos a son of Ares. In the fight for the spoils, Meriones wounded Deiphobus.

Aeneas killed Aphareus, Antilochus killed Thoon, and Meriones (who was like a vulture) stuck his spear so firmly into the body of Adamas that the man was dragged after it panting, as an ox dragged unwillingly by the ropes of herdsmen on the mountains.

Helenus, the third leader of the Asios division, shot an arrow at Menelaus, but it glanced off from his breastplate as beans jump from a winnowing-fan. Menelaus wounded Helenus, and killed Peisander. He was attacked by a third Trojan, who was killed by Meriones, and lay on the ground like a worm. Finally Paris killed the rich and good Euchenor with an arrow.<sup>28</sup>

Paris was leader of the 2nd division. The mention of his exploit is important. Three divisions of the Trojans are concentrated against Idomeneus and Meriones, whose work is thus accomplished. We return to the Ajaxes and Hector, who are struggling elsewhere, Hector like a flame, the two Ajaxes like two oxen ploughing together, sweating at the work.

The last part of the triad reverses the pattern of the first:

Hector talked with Polydamas, whose advice he took, and with Paris. The fresh Trojan concentration made the battle like a tempest of winds loosed by Zeus over land and sea. Hector, like Ares, led them. Ajax cried, 'It is the lash of Zeus. But Hector shall soon pray for his horses to be swifter than hawks.' Zeus sent the sign of an eagle, but Hector pressed on.

Nestor heard the shouting. He went out, his mind troubled as a sea before the wind is certain. Nestor, Odysseus, Diomed, exhorted Agamemnon, and Poseidon joined them. Poseidon shouted louder than nine thousand or ten thousand men in battle.<sup>29</sup>

It is surely very ingenious. In the first triad we had the form: Strife shouted, Agamemnon, Odysseus, Diomed were wounded. Nestor. In the second we have: Nestor, Odysseus, Diomed, encouraged Agamemnon. Poseidon shouted. In the first, we had the interview of Glaucus and Sarpedon, followed by the exploits of Sarpedon; in the second, we have the interview of Idomeneus and Meriones, followed by the exploits. In the first, we had Hector accepting the advice of Polydamas, but rejecting his warning, when he bade him yield to an omen; in the second, he accepts this man's advice, then ignores an omen.

Yet the material is so disposed that the main scheme has the form: Trojan success; Oratory of Nestor; Trojan success. Oratory of Poseidon; exploits of Idomeneus; Oratory of the Greek chieftains.

As for the similes, I need say no more at present.

There are no similes in the delightful tale of Hera's trickery. To what indeed should one compare the son of Cronos, with his consort, asleep in a golden cloud on the mountain-top among the lush grass and the dewy lotus and the soft thick hyacinth?

<sup>28</sup> N 389, 437, 471, 493, 531, 571, 588      <sup>29</sup> N 703, 795, 819,  $\Xi$  16. Poseidon shouts (cf. the puffing away of Pandarus' arrow). at  $\Xi$  148.

But in the central panel of this triad, the Victory of the Greeks, the incidents and similes combine to make so fine a climax that one fears to spoil it by analysis.

Odysseus, Diomed, and Agamemnon, with Poseidon, re-armed the Greeks. The sword of Poseidon was like lightning. The sea washed up to the ships and huts of the Argives, and the armies met again with a great shout. The noise of a wave upon the land, when it is raised and gathered by the cruel blast of Boreas; the roar of a flaming fire in the mountain glades, when it arises to consume the forest; the voice of the wind upon high oaks, when it roars loudest and most angrily, is not so great as was the noise of the Achaeans and the Trojans, shouting terribly, when they leapt on one another.

Hector aimed at Ajax, but missed him. Ajax seized a mighty boulder—one of many used for propping the ships—lifted it, and spun it, like a top, and sent it hurtling against Hector. And the Trojan champion fell, as an oak falls headlong, smitten by the stroke of Zeus. The sulphurous smell of it makes men afraid. There is none that is bold when he sees it near at hand. The Thunderbolt of great Zeus is terrible.<sup>30</sup>

And, after that, no more similes, unless indeed we count the passing reference to a man's head held up like a poppy.

Consider how the whole series of battle-scenes has been developed. There have been decorative images of lions and boars in all, arranged in a formal pattern. From this climax all these have been cut away; but see what images the lions and boars have framed:

In Δ, Agamemnon armed, and Hector's armour shone like lightning. Agamemnon was like a lion, *like a forest fire*, like a lion. Diomed and Odysseus were like a boar or lion, *like a wind, upon the sea, or scattering the clouds*, like boars and lions. Ajax was like a boar at bay, like a lion, *like a torrent carrying dried trees and rubble* from the mountains to the sea.

In Μ, Hector was like a wind, a boar, a lion; Polypoites and Leonteus were like *oaks withstanding wind and rain*, like wild-boars in the mountain-thicket. At the end of the episode, Hector seized a mighty boulder, carried it as a shepherd carries a lamb, and burst through the gate.

In Ν, Hector was *like a boulder* smashed from a cliff and leaping down the wooded mountain to the plain. He was stopped by the Achaeon phalanx, and Imbrios fell *like an ash cut down by the bronze*. Finally, Asios, cut down by Idomeneus, crashed to the ground *like an oak or a white poplar or a pine*, Alkathoos stood helpless, *like a stone or a tree*, and Idomeneus proclaimed himself a son of Zeus.

I have not cheated, but have reported all these things in the order in which Homer has recorded them. If the combination here in Ξ, of the arming and the lightning, the fire, the wind, the oaks withstanding wind, the boulder, and the fallen tree, now blasted by lightning, be fortuitous—well, with young Cheeryble, I hold myself under an obligation to the coincidence, that's all.

#### IV

<sup>31</sup> When Zeus wakes, and sends his consort on an errand, she darts as swiftly as the mind of a much-travelled man, who says, 'I was there and I was there.' Homer, as it seems to me, having completed this massive scheme of triads, does not mean to let his story languish. So he changes suddenly his

<sup>30</sup> Ξ 386, 394, 413, 499.

<sup>31</sup> O 80, 170 are the only similes in the

Olympian scene. At O 237 Apollo sent by Zeus to Hector, darts like a hawk.

pattern, but leaves no pause between the old pattern and the new. The transition is effected thus :

Hera prevails on Aphrodite, Sleep and Zeus.

Greek Victory.

Zeus wakes. Hera coaxes Ares. Iris makes Poseidon withdraw.

Apollo with Hector. Overthrow of the Wall.

Patroclus roused.

Hector at the ships.

Patroclus with Achilles.

Fire at the ships.

Patroclus arms. . . .

The exploits of Patroclus follow, with a pattern of their own. My point is, that after the massive triads *aba bab bab*, the pace is quickened by the arrangement of the alternate scenes of battle and persuasion in the form *ababab*. There is no great pause after the waking of Zeus until Achilles prays, and the Myrmidons take the field. Homer is like a musician, and musicians will understand what he does here, just as musicians have understood, and scholars ignored, Walter Headlam's teaching about metrical overlapping in Greek lyric. The pace quickens; the pattern changes; and, with the change of pattern, the decorative scheme takes on new colours. Not that the old are forgotten. The lions and the boars reappear, but, with the rousing of the Myrmidons, ravening wolves are added. The fight is still like fire and tempest. But the waves have a ship at their mercy, and the fire roars over a burning city. It is the development of a symphony, which begins quietly, and grows more and more exciting as the simple themes are repeated, developed and combined.<sup>32</sup>

Hector, revived by Apollo, led the attack. Paris was never more gay and beautiful and reckless, Ajax never more bold and terrifying. That is the prose translation of the two comparisons here transferred from Ajax and from Paris to Hector.<sup>33</sup> The Greeks, before Hector and Apollo, were like cattle in a farm at night, terrified by two beasts, when their shepherd is away. They resisted, but Apollo had his aegis, and a great stretch of the wall collapsed, like a child's castle on the sands. Nestor cried to Zeus, who thundered his answer, but the Trojans leapt on the Greeks even more violently, like a wave that leaps over a ship's wall.<sup>34</sup>

Patroclus heard the noise, and left Eurypylos. The Greeks reformed their lines, and the fight became equal again. It was as even as the line in the hand of a clever carpenter, making straight a timber for a ship.<sup>35</sup>

Ajax and Teucer were now fighting actually for the first ship. 'Get your bow and arrows, Apollo's own gift,' cried Ajax. Teucer obeyed, and shot one hero, but when he aimed at Hector, Zeus broke his bowstring. 'Get a good spear,' said Ajax.

Antilochus leapt on Melanippus as a hound leaps on a wounded lion. But Hector came, and Antilochus went back, like a wild beast that has done wrong. The Trojans

<sup>32</sup> Π 156, O 381, 623. P 737.

<sup>34</sup> O 323, 362, 381.

<sup>33</sup> O 263 ff. (cf. Z 506, A 48 ff.).

<sup>35</sup> O 410.

now were like lions. Hector raged like Ares; like a fire on the mountains. But the Greeks stood, like a rock resisting wind and wave. Hector, aglow with fire, leapt on them as a wave leaps on a ship; the wind roars in the sails; the sailors are terrified. Hector was like a lion coming with evil purpose on a herd of cows grazing innumerable in a meadow-pasture. He is able to seize one of them, because the herdsman is unskilful. Ajax was like a trick-rider on four horses. Hector leapt on him like an eagle swooping on a flight of birds, geese, cranes, or long-necked swans that are feeding by a river. Men fought with axes, staves, swords, spears; many black-bound swords fell from their hands or from their shoulders as they struggled; the black earth ran with blood. Hector cried, 'Bring fire!' and Ajax shouted. But he had to give way, still fighting, still wounding his men. . . . Twelve he wounded. . . .

And Patroclus stood by Achilles, weeping, like a fountain of black water. 'Why do you weep?' asked Achilles, 'like a little girl running behind her mother, plucking at her skirts, and looking up at her in tears, until she stops and picks her up.'

There are no more similes in the talk between Achilles and Patroclus, and there are no similes when the spear of Ajax breaks, and the ships are fired. The fire at the ships is itself the consummation of many similes. Notice, if you have patience, how the geese and cranes and swans of our first pattern have returned.<sup>36</sup> We shall have other instances of such revival, but we shall not stop to mention them. The arming of Patroclus is a sequel to the arming of Agamemnon: the Myrmidons in their five divisions recall the five divisions of the Trojans. The Myrmidons are like ravening wolves, gorged, but thirsty. That is new. Achilles prays to Zeus, and the Myrmidons go out to battle, like wasps that have been irritated by mischievous boys and have become a danger even to the harmless passer-by.<sup>37</sup>

Then, with the beginning of the exploits of Patroclus, we begin a magnificent series of comparisons. This is the first:

Patroclus killed Pyraechmes, and the Achaeans were relieved. It was as when the clouds are driven from a mountain by the lightning-flash of Zeus. The high peaks and the promontories and the glens are seen, and the infinite heaven above breaks open.<sup>38</sup>

It is our questionable repetition, the unscrupulous rhapsode's work. At the end of the first movement, the rejoicing of the shepherd when he saw the clouds rolled from the mountain and the innumerable stars revealed in the windless sky, was a climax and a consummation. The mountain had once been wrapped in mist, so thick that you could only see a stone's throw. He had watched the clouds approaching over the sea, and shivered. He had heard the noise of torrents in the valley. The clouds had clung to the mountain, in spite of winds. And at last the air was clear again, the stars shone, and the valleys were revealed, and the shepherd rejoiced. To the effect of the first movement, anyhow, this simile was indispensable. Here, at the beginning of the last fight of Patroclus, the same simile is used again. And here it is not the end, but the beginning, of a more magnificent development:

Patroclus and the Greeks did great deeds, fighting like wolves. The Trojans at length were routed, and a shout went up as suddenly as a cloud that sweeps into the sky out of a clear heaven, when Zeus intends to make a storm. There was confusion at the

<sup>36</sup> O 690 ff. (cf. B 459).

<sup>38</sup> π 296 ff., cf. 364, 386.

<sup>37</sup> π 259 ff. (cf. M 167).

trench. Patroclus himself passed over. The fight was like a great day of storm, when Zeus destroys the works of men, wreaking vengeance on men whose deeds are evil.

We have had many storm-similes before, but never one like this, in which the men who suffer find their place as victims of the anger of the gods. It is like the addition of the ship and sailors to the wave-simile a little while ago. Patroclus killed many victims, and at last he met Sarpedon. They were like vultures.

Zeus talked with Hera, and resigned his son to death. Even the son of Zeus must die. Only, in death he shall be honoured. His brothers in Lycia shall make a funeral mound for him, and raise a pillar of stone: that is the prize of honour of the dead.

They fought, and Sarpedon fell.<sup>39</sup> He lay, like an oak or a white poplar or high pine, felled by the carpenters in the mountain, to be a ship's timber. As a great-hearted brown bull is picked out from a herd of cows and killed by a lion, and bellows angrily as he dies, so Sarpedon was angry, and called to Glaucus to avenge him. Glaucus was wounded, but he prayed to Apollo, who healed him. He appealed to Hector, and Patroclus called to the Ajaxes, and Zeus put darkness on the field.

Patroclus, angry for a fallen friend, darted on the Trojans, like a hawk pursuing smaller birds. They gave ground, as far as a man can throw a javelin. Aeneas taunted Meriones, 'My spear would have finished you, had I hit--though you are a dancer.' Meriones replied, 'Even you are a mortal,' but Patroclus called for deeds, not words. The noise of battle was like the noise of woodcutters in the forest. They fought about the body of Sarpedon, like flies round milk in spring.<sup>40</sup>

Zeus sent Apollo to snatch the shining body from among their weapons, and to wash it in river-water and anoint it with ambrosia and clothe it in immortal raiment; then to give it to the brothers, Sleep and Death, for safe carriage to Sarpedon's home in Lycia.

Patroclus fell into great folly. He forgot the word of Achilles, and attacked the wall of Troy. Thrice he attacked, and three times Apollo foiled him. And when, for the fourth time, he leapt on, like a daimon, Apollo shouted and he gave way.

Apollo roused Hector. Patroclus killed Kebriones, and taunted him, 'Oyster-diver, Tumbler!' Patroclus was like a lion; Hector and Patroclus were like two lions fighting for a body. They were like two winds fighting in the forest: there is a noise of the breaking of branches. But Kebriones lay still. He had forgotten his feats of horsemanship.

So long as the sun was in the midst of the heaven, they fought. But when the sun turned to the hour of the loosing of oxen, Patroclus had to die. Thrice he leapt on the enemy, like Ares. And when, for the fourth time, he leapt on, like a daimon, Apollo met him in the battle, and he did not know the god. Apollo stunned him, Euphorbus wounded him, and Hector killed him. He was like a boar killed by a lion on the mountain in a fight for a small spring of water.

<sup>39</sup> II 482 ff.

<sup>40</sup> II 633 ff.

Menelaus fought for the body, like a cow defending her first calf. He killed Euphorbus, in his beauty, as the wind uproots a cherished olive-plant once nurtured by the breezes. He was like a lion killing a cow, while dogs and huntsmen dare not approach him. But Hector came, like Ares, like a flame, and Menelaus had to yield. He left the body unwillingly, turning back like a noble lion driven from a farm. Ajax came to the rescue, and defended the body as a lion defends his young.<sup>41</sup>

We are back again to the imagery of the first panel of the whole movement, when Agamemnon and then Ajax fought so well. But this time the development will be different.

First, an interlude, in which Hector puts on the armour of Achilles, without similes. Then this, for the resumption of the pattern.<sup>42</sup>

The meeting of the armies was like the meeting of a torrent with the sea. There was darkness on the helmets of the fighters. Ajax was like a wild-boar scattering the dogs and the young men on the mountain. They fought like fire, but you would have said the sun and moon had been put out, so dark it was about the body. Elsewhere on the field the sun shone, and there was no cloud on plain or mountain. And Antilochus did not know. They fought, and dragged the body, as men stretch an oxhide, sweating at their work. And Achilles did not know. They encouraged one another.

Then a second, more elaborate interlude, the fight for the horses of Achilles.

The horses stood, like a pillar of stone on a tomb, and Zeus pitied them, and pitied men. He gave them spirit, and they flew, and Automedon, driving, was like a hawk pursuing geese. But he could not fight, for he was alone. Alkimedon relieved him: Aeneas and Aretos made a bid for this great booty. Aretos, felled like an ox by a young man's axe, was left dead, and Automedon took his armour, and drove off with bloody arms and legs, like a lion that has eaten a bull.<sup>43</sup>

Then the body again.

Athene came, like a rainbow, a sign of war or tempest, stopping the work of the field and frightening the cattle; and she gave Menelaus the persistence of a fly that still comes back to bite, though it is driven off: so dainty is the blood of a man.<sup>44</sup> Zeus, with his aegis, watched, and still gave victory to the Trojans, until Ajax prayed: 'If thou wilt destroy us, destroy us in the light!' <sup>45</sup> And Zeus sent light, and Menelaus went to find Antilochus. He went unwillingly, like a lion kept away from a farm throughout a hungry night. He glared like an eagle, and he found Antilochus, and sent him to Achilles.

This darkness, and its dispersal is, if I mistake not, the sequel to the moment when Achilles prayed to Zeus, and the Myrmidons went out, and the Achaeans were relieved, as when the clouds are driven from the mountain by the lightning-flash of Zeus.

Menelaus went back to the body. Meriones and Menelaus lifted it, while the two Ajaxes fought on. The Trojans attached the bearers, as dogs attack a wounded boar, but fell back, when the Ajaxes turned on them. The fight behind them blazed like a fire that suddenly attacks a city: the houses collapse in the glare; the wind roars over it. Like mules, which put out their strength, and drag a log or a ship's timber down the mountain-side along a craggy path: their spirit is afflicted by the labour and the sweat; so were they zealous.

<sup>41</sup> P 4, 53, 61, 109, 133.

<sup>42</sup> P 281, 366, 389.

<sup>43</sup> P 436, 480, 520, 542.

<sup>44</sup> P 570 (cf. B 469, Γ 189, Π 641).

<sup>45</sup> P 647.

carrying the body. And behind them the two Ajaxes held back the Trojans, as a wooded headland, running sharp into the plain, stops the strong mountain-torrents, and turns their waters back.<sup>46</sup>

So, at last, Antilochus told Achilles. Thetis heard the cry, and the Nereids lamented, and Thetis came to her son. But still they struggled. As a shepherd cannot drive a lion from a body, so Ajax could not drive Hector off. But Iris came to Achilles, and bade him shout at the trench. Athene put her aegis about him, and set a golden cloud and a flame about his head. The sight of him was like the flame of beacons from a beleaguered city. The sound of his voice was like a trumpet-call from a city besieged.<sup>47</sup> Thrice he shouted. Thrice the Trojans fell back. And the body was brought home.

The *Iliad* is not a string of little poems. Its materials are grouped in cycles, not straight lines. Many of the incidents are arranged like Chinese boxes. Such a method has advantages for a story-teller like Demodocus, or Homer. It makes the poems easy to remember. Also, this disposition of his matter gives the poet a repertoire of stories, long or short, for use as occasion demands. All of them, as by a miracle of inspiration, will possess artistic form. But on great days, when your audience is yours, not for an hour, but for a long-drawn festival, you can recite your *Achilleis*—no, your *Iliad*—and still, if you are Homer, it will be one poem, with one splendid pattern. Because, thirdly, the recurrent themes and images have cumulative value. They affect the audience like repeated themes of music.

It is in this honourable sense, I think, that the *Iliad* is made up of many 'rhapsodies,' and that Homer can be fitly called a 'stitcher' of poetry. Lyric is woven. There are no clear seams between the parts of the design. Epic is like a series of tapestries, not woven in one piece, but made of strips placed side by side, stitched, as it were, not woven, into their places.<sup>48</sup> The prelude to the *Theogony*, the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*, and many other poems, are constructed on this principle, and, of course, the fact that the *Iliad* is so constructed proves nothing, by itself, about the unity of authorship. But when, across the divisions of the formal pattern, we observe the strands of another pattern, subtly interwoven, our theory of the authorship must be affected. The recurrent images of Homer—who, in this matter, as in many, was a forerunner of Aeschylus—do, I submit, afford an argument for the existence of one great constructive poet. For the tests by which stitched epic must be judged are these: the splendour of the main design, the texture of the component strips or panels, their imaginative value, their relation to each other, and their relevance—imaginative, not merely logical—to the main theme.

J. T. SHEPPARD.

<sup>46</sup> P 725, 737, 742 ff.

<sup>47</sup> Σ 207 ff.

<sup>48</sup> I have discussed this point in a paper

read to the Cambridge Philological Society, and summarised in the *Cambridge University Reporter*, May 23, 1922.



NOTES ON THE SCULPTURES OF THE PALAZZO DEI  
CONSERVATORI.

[PLATES VIII-X.]

THE following notes, made during my work for the British School at Rome on the sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori, are here published by permission of Prof. H. Stuart Jones, General Editor of the forthcoming

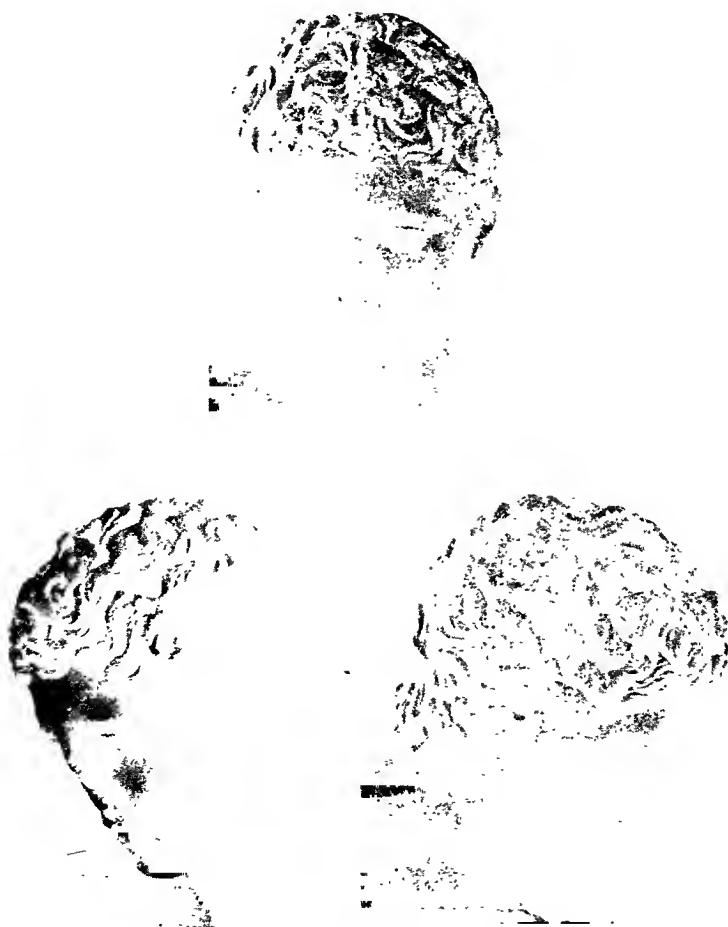


FIG. 1.—STANDING DISCOBOLUS, ANTIQUARIUM, ROME. (From a cast.)

catalogue, and at the suggestion of Mrs. Arthur Strong, for whose constant help and criticism I wish to take this opportunity of recording my thanks. The summary descriptions are not intended in any sense to supplant, but rather to supplement the catalogue; and their appearance here is due to the



FIG. 2.—CONSERVATORI ATHLETE.

ANTIQUARIUM DISCOBOLUS.  
(From a cast.)



FIG. 3.—CONSERVATORI ATHLETE.

ANTIQUARIUM DISCOBOLUS.  
(From a cast.)

belief that new theories are best published separately before being embodied. if only because the conclusions reached can in this way be substantiated by arguments, especially in the form of photographs, which would there be out of place. The note which had its beginnings in the Esquiline *stele* has grown to the dimensions of a separate article, and in view of its possible interest has been so printed.

1. *Athlete*. (*Catalogue, Galleria*, No. 49.) (Plate VIII.)

Restored (in plaster): l. ankle, foot and support beneath it: most of plinth. Head broken off and rightly re-set.

We have here to deal with a dull copy, interesting only because the original can be ascribed almost with certainty to a known master. Its resemblance



FIG. 4.—EIRENE, MUNICH.  
(From a cast.)

FRAGMENT, CONSERVATORI.

SAUROKTONOS, DRESDEN.

to the statue of the standing Discobolus, now in the Antiquarium <sup>1</sup> (Fig. 1), the discovery of which solved the stylistic problem connected with that type, is sufficiently close to justify an attribution of the originals to the same hand (Fig. 2). That the sculptor was Naucydes of Argos is a conclusion which does not conflict either with literary evidence or with the evidence of the style, which shows a logical development of Polycleitan tendencies, with a suggestion of movement in the hair foreign to the style of Polycleitus himself. The lack of fullness in the cheeks and body of our statue compared with the plumpness of the Antiquarium Discobolus <sup>2</sup> is paralleled by the dryness and flatness of relief in the hair of the one, and its fullness and softness in the other (Figs. 2 and 3). The difference is, in short, partly due to the copyist, partly perhaps to an attempt at differentiation of athletic types by the original sculptor. The expanded chest and narrow waist of the Conservatori athlete

<sup>1</sup> *Helbig*<sup>3</sup> 1030.

<sup>2</sup> This feature is common to all the known copies, even to those in which one

might well have been excused for not recognising the head as a replica.



FIG. 5.—FRAGMENT OF FEMALE FIGURE, PALAZZO DEI CONSERVATORI.



FIG. 6.—HERM IN THE PALAZZO DEI CONSERVATORI.

seem to indicate a runner, while the build of the Discobolus, like that of the modern weight-putter, would naturally incline to heaviness.

2. *Upper part of draped female figure.* (*Catalogue, Orti Lamiani*, No. 17.)  
(Plate IX.)

Restored (in plaster): tip of nose; small patches on eyelids, lower lip and chin; large patch behind crown of head on r. Head broken from body at base of neck and split diagonally on a line from r. of forehead to below l. ear and through knot of hair at back; l. side of body broken away close to neck: the irregular joins in all cases made up with plaster.

Finer by far than the replica of the head in Venice,<sup>3</sup> this fragment falls at once into a position in the artistic history of the fourth century. The Praxitelean original, nearly contemporary with the Apollo Sauroktonos, belonged to that period of the sculptor's activity which may be said to begin at about the date of the Eirene of Cephisodotus<sup>4</sup> (Fig. 4). With our copies of that statue the present work has many points in common, and the drapery shows but a slight advance. Connexion with the Sauroktonos is emphasised by a similar variation (only reproduced in better copies of the Apollo) in the shape of the loose lock on each cheek (Fig. 5).

3. *Herm of the so-called Scopaic Heracles.* (*Catalogue, Galleria*, No. 28). (Fig. 6.)

Restored (in plaster): tip of nose, small patch on each lip.

The head is unbroken from its terminal bust, and though much weathered is of excellent workmanship. It may be accepted, so far as a single copy can ever be accepted on internal evidence, as a faithful replica of a work of the fourth century B.C. Illustrated by Gräf in a widely-cited article<sup>5</sup> as one of the finest examples of the class, it corresponds neither in measurements nor style with the numerous others which formed his group and were supposed to derive from an Heracles by Scopas. Several of these, including the full-length Lansdowne Heracles, are certainly derived from a common original, with the attribution of which we are not here concerned. But a detailed comparison of the Conservatori head with the Hermes of Praxiteles on the one hand (Fig. 7), and the Tegean heads on the other, shows that its closest relationship is with the Attic work. Compare the head-shape, structure of face, modelling of forehead and cheeks: treatment of the hair: position,

<sup>3</sup> Pellegrini, *Guida*. No. 177.

<sup>4</sup> Prof. Arndt has kindly shown me notes made by him some years ago, in which the same conclusion is reached: it is, I think, in any case hardly to be disputed. But the statue is so little known and of such importance that the present publication, with photographs, may not be out of place.

The Sauroktonos head illustrated (by kind permission of Prof. Herimann) is the somewhat inferior Dresden replica, which has at least the merit of being, unlike the better known Vatican copy, only slightly restored. *Verzeichnis*, No. 110. Restored: nose.

<sup>5</sup> *Röm. Mitt.* iv. 1889, p. 189 sqq.



FIG. 7.—THE CONSERVATORI HERM (*a, d, g*), THE HERMES OF PRAXITELES (*b, c, f*), AND THE PETWORTH APHRODITE (*e, h*) COMPARED.

shape and horizontal axis of the eyes <sup>6</sup>: the mouth, ear, and dimpled chin. Differences are to be noted in the bridge of the nose, the outer corners of the eyebrows, which are brought down lower over the lids than in the Hermes (though less low than in the Tegean heads), and in the jaw, which, though more fleshy than in the Hermes, finds an analogy in the Petworth Aphrodite. That Praxiteles, not necessarily under the influence of Scopas, but with the licence of a fourth-century sculptor, varied considerably the shadowing of the eye and the curves of the mouth in differentiating his subjects, is shown by a comparison in respect of these details between the Hermes, the Aberdeen head, and the Petworth Aphrodite, all almost certainly originals by him (Figs. 7 and 8). It is indeed to the Petworth Aphrodite that the character of the present head most nearly approaches (Fig. 9), and Dionysos, not Heracles, is the deity to whom the parted, drooping lips and air of sensuous melancholy would alone be suitable. The wreath, too, is of vine, and we must think of a grape-cluster as filling the space chamfered away from the back of the shoulder. If this is not the copy of a work by Praxiteles it is at least the copy of a work of his school, showing the closest dependence on Praxitelean tradition, and we can dismiss it entirely from any discussion of the Scopaeic Heracles. There are extant many torsoes, though I know of no heads, which may well have belonged to other copies of the same original.

4. *Sleeping Eros.* (*Catalogue, Sala degli Arazzi, No. 2.*) Unrestored.  
(Plate X.)

One of the finest replicas of a common type. The easy pose of the flexible body is adapted to an unusually skilful composition which lends itself to several points of view. Knowledge of anatomy and flesh treatment are alike admirable. The subject reminds us of the sleeping Hermaphrodite, the best copy of which is in the Terme Museum.<sup>7</sup> But there is a still closer relationship between the two. Apart from the parallel effects attempted in the rendering of flesh and drapery, the head-shape, though not identical, is closely allied, while the attenuation of the hair roots, the feeling for the texture of the hair, the position and shape of the curls before and behind the ear, the arrangement of the hair above them, the impressionism of the curl on the cheek, with which we may contrast the faint relief used by earlier sculptors (cf. No. 2); further, the heavy lower jaw and sharply dimpled chin, the receding lower, and sharp projecting upper lip, to mention some only of the similarities in style, demonstrate with an approach to certainty that the originals were the work of the same hand <sup>8</sup> (Fig. 10).

In an artist of this period we must look, not for identity of every detail, but for a careful study of the peculiarities of the model, and that is, as a fact, what we do find. The difficulty with regard to the original material need not

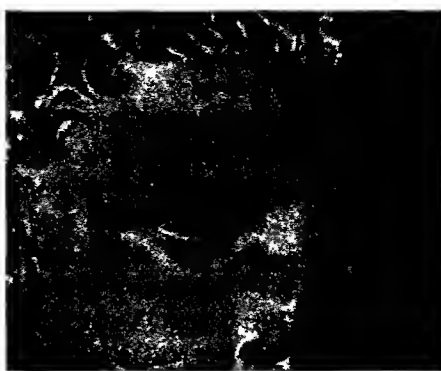
<sup>6</sup> Sloping down towards the inner corner in the Tegean heads, up in the Hermes and in the head under discussion.

<sup>7</sup> *Helbig*<sup>3</sup> 1362. Head unrestored, ear broken.

<sup>8</sup> In Fig. 10 the photograph of the Hermaphrodite is not an exact profile: this should be remembered when comparing the two heads.



CONSERVATORI HERM.



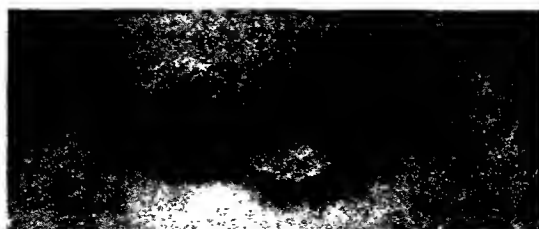
ABERDEEN HEAD. (From a cast.)



ABERDEEN HEAD. (From a cast.)



HERMES OF PRAXITELES. (From a cast.)



CONSERVATORI HERM.

FIG. 8.—DETAIL OF EYES AND BROWS COMPARED.





FIG. 9.—CONSERVATORI  
HERM.

PETWORTH APHRODITE.  
(From a cast.)



FIG. 10.—SLEEPING EROS,  
CONSERVATORI.



SLEEPING HERMAPHRODITE,  
MUSEO DELLE TERME.

be exaggerated.<sup>9</sup> The marble of the Terme copy of the Hermaphrodite is well suited to the technique; but only in the body; and we have to face the question whether an ancient sculptor working in bronze would have attained the present effect by any different treatment of the modelling, or indeed whether that particular effect is so attainable. A bronzed cast proves that the figure loses no more than it gains in the translation from one material to the other. It exchanges approximately realistic for conventional colouring, but the technique of both hair and drapery is displayed to greater advantage, and we can see that the sharp lines of the nose and brows had some purpose. Similarly, the original of the Eros may have been either of marble or bronze: there is indeed a bronze copy, reversed and otherwise modified, at New York.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Dickins, *Hellen. Sculpt.* p. 57.

<sup>10</sup> Richter, *Greek Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, No. 132, p. 90.

## LOCRI EPIZEPHYRII AND THE LUDOVISI THRONE

### [PLATE XI.]

THE starting-point for the following discussion is the *stele* from the Esquiline<sup>1</sup> (Plate XI.). We remark first its stylistic relationship with a series of terracottas from Locri Epizephyrii, many of which have been published by Quagliati in *Ausonia*, iii. 1908, p. 136 sqq. and by Orsi in *Bollettino d'Arte*, iii. 1909, p. 406 sqq. and p. 463 sqq., while there are other examples in various museums. For style, we may compare particularly *Aus.* l.c. Figs. 9, 33, 44; *Boll.* l.c. Fig. 16, and Fig. 1 (=B.M. *Terracottas*, B488, Pl. XXI.): for subject *Aus.* l.c. Fig. 1. If this connexion can be established, the consequences are of importance, for the *stele* from the Esquiline has often been compared in style with the Ludovisi Throne, and the Ludovisi Throne involves the Boston reliefs. Before examining this comparison we must mention yet another work which has been brought into relation with these monuments, the so-called Ino-Leucothea relief of the Villa Albani.<sup>2</sup> Its connexion with the Esquiline *stele* and with some of the terra-cottas is, in fact, equally striking. With the *stele* it has in common, in the seated figure the emphatically linear treatment of the *himation*, that is to say, a tendency to draw rather than to model; and the identical device for rendering the softer material in the standing figure (a device also used in the terra-cottas,<sup>3</sup> while the line of the front of the thigh is indicated through the drapery in the same way. In short, it is fair to say that if a reduced copy of the Albani relief had been unearthed among such terra-cottas as *Aus.* l.c. Figs. 4, 15, 44, 45, 46, 58, and *Boll.* l.c. Fig. 43, to mention only a few examples, we should not notice any incongruity of style, and the subject in some cases is curiously similar.<sup>4</sup>

Turning now to the Ludovisi Throne, we find that it appears to be later than most, if not all, of the terra-cottas, and probably later than the *stele* and the Albani relief; but there is no serious divergence of style, the head-shape is notably the same,<sup>5</sup> and in all, to note a single important resemblance,

<sup>1</sup> *Conservatori Catalogue, Monumenti Arcaici*, No. 5. Greyish island marble. Restored (in plaster): patches on edge of moulding, and a thin horizontal strip under right arm of figure where relief has been broken in two.

<sup>2</sup> *Helbig*<sup>3</sup> 1863.

<sup>3</sup> *Aus.* l.c. Fig. 83. Here possibly imitated from metal technique like the granulated treatment in certain other of the terra-cottas (*Aus.* l.c. Fig. 74, etc.).

Compare the silver rhyton from Tarentum at Trieste (*Jahresh.* v. 1902, p. 112). That Locri abounded in metal treasures we know both from the terra-cottas and from literary evidence.

<sup>4</sup> The resemblance between the Ludovisi Throne and the terra-cottas has been noted both by Amelung (*Helbig*<sup>3</sup> 1286) and by Ducati (*L'Arte Classica*, p. 293).

<sup>5</sup> *Aus.* l.c. Figs. 44, 54, 55.

the female chest is unusually firm and prominent. Further, one of the few pieces of sculpture found at Locri itself, the west pedimental group or acroteria,<sup>6</sup> shows in the drapery of the Tritons a flattening of the surfaces and a rounding of the edges of the folds which comes close to the drapery treatment of the attendants in the main scene of the Ludovisi Throne; while the male form is not distant from that of the Boston reliefs. On stylistic grounds, then, we might suppose some connexion between all these monuments and Locri. Nor is it irrelevant, when we remember that the one influence admittedly apparent in them is the Ionic, that the temple at Locri, alone among those in South Italy, was of the Ionic order; and that the material employed is island marble, though not in all cases of identical grain and quality.<sup>7</sup>

But in subject the Ludovisi Throne furnishes us with a still more important point of contact. The main front scene has for one of its leading motives a sacred cloth or garment. In the Locrian terracottas, at least four sets show scenes of ritual concerned also with some kind of sacred garment. In the first it is being carried unfolded by four maidens accompanied by an older woman<sup>8</sup>; and we may notice the fact, perhaps not unconnected with the toilet scene, and with the dedication of mirrors in some sanctuary,<sup>9</sup> that in one example these maidens, preceded by the woman, wear their hair loose, in another, where they are followed by her, it is confined,<sup>10</sup> and, more important still, in *Boll.* l.c. Figs. 25 and 26, there is between the two pairs of maidens a difference of drapery corresponding to (though not identical with) that in the attendants of the rising goddess on the Ludovisi Throne. In the second set the



FIG. 1.—TERRA-COTTA RELIEF FROM LOCRI.  
(British Museum).

<sup>6</sup> *Ant. Denkm.* v. 1890, Pl. LI. and LII. *Röm. Mitt.* v. 1890, pp. 161–227. Pl. IX. These articles deal also with other remains at Locri. Now at Naples (*Guida*, No. 125, p. 39).

<sup>7</sup> I am aware that, speaking broadly, all these monuments can be classed simply as Ionian. But that classification does not seem to account for all their peculiarities.

though the style of the Albani relief is, I feel, not quite so characteristically South Italian as that of the Esquiline *stèle* and the two thrones.

<sup>8</sup> *Boll.* l.c. Figs. 25, 26; *Aus.* l.c. Fig. 50.

<sup>9</sup> *E.g.* *Aus.* l.c. Fig. 57; *Boll.* l.c. Fig. 16.

<sup>10</sup> See in this connexion *Revue Hist. Relig.* 80, (1919), xiv. p. 30.

folded garment is seen carried by a maiden with or without an older woman.<sup>11</sup> In the third, again folded, it lies on a table in front of some goddess.<sup>12</sup> In yet another it is being placed in a chest;<sup>13</sup> while finally it is seen held in front of what appears to be an already draped girl.<sup>14</sup> Naturally one thinks at once of the Arrephoric maidens of the Parthenos, of the Despoina at Lykosura, and, amongst many others, of the Hera of Tiryns in the terra-cottas at Nauplia.<sup>15</sup> The robing scenes in other examples must also be connected with this aspect of the ritual.<sup>16</sup>

As for the connexion of subject with the Boston reliefs, the most obvious link is that provided by the appearance of the pomegranate, which to us, as to both Greeks and Romans, is almost invariably the symbol of the underworld; so that, whether we connect the Boston relief with Locri or not, we must connect it with some under-world cult. At Locri itself, on the entablature of a shrine at some distance from that mentioned below, single pomegranates are carved in the round midway between the groups of *guttæ*.

As far as the fishes are concerned, they appear frequently on the coins of South Italy and of Sicily, seldom on those of Greece proper. The whole scene of the Boston Throne I would bring into relation with the somewhat baroque west pediment or acroteria from Locri. The present symmetrical restoration is conjectural, but in any case the largest fragment represents a youth (usually believed to be one of the Dioscuri) leaping from a horse borne by a Triton. When we remember that the Dioscuri were, according to some legends, translated to heaven as morning and evening star, it surely follows that this part of the scene directly corresponds to the scenes of simple astronomical symbolism in the Parthenon pediment, on the basis of the Parthenos, and elsewhere, and shows one of the Dioscuri, who, at the hour of his setting, leaves the horse on which he has ridden the sky to plunge into the sea.<sup>17</sup> Similarly the boys in the scales of the Boston relief, recalling in form the young stars of the Blacas vase, may be morning and evening star, or some stars whose respective appearance and disappearance, like the evening rising of Arcturus, was the sign for the beginning of certain agricultural operations and of the corresponding religious rites.<sup>18</sup> There could be no simpler or more satisfying way of indicating the interdependent movement of the two stars than the exact, inevitable movement of a balance. One star rises from behind the land-horizon (the under-world, indicated by the

<sup>11</sup> *Boll.* l.c. Fig. 17; *Aus.* l.c. Fig. 53.

<sup>12</sup> *Boll.* l.c. Fig. 6; *Aus.* l.c. Figs. 47, 48.

<sup>13</sup> *Aus.* l.c. Fig. 63.

<sup>14</sup> *Aus.* l.c. Figs. 60, 61 and 62. Her companion on the plaque has the left breast bare. That is to say we are looking at a religious ceremony of robing and disrobing, analogous to, if not identical with that suggested by the three subjects of the Ludovisi Throne.

<sup>15</sup> Casson's theory (*J.H.S.* xl. 1920, p. 137), plausible enough in itself, lacks what the present argument would if the question of style were entirely omitted. Mystic

bath and raiment formed part of the ritual of many, perhaps originally of most goddesses.

<sup>16</sup> *E.g.* *Aus.* l.c. Fig. 62; *Boll.* l.c. Fig. 45.

<sup>17</sup> The metaphor is common (see Hesiod, *Op.* i. 620). Compare the Orion legend, Pseudo-Eratosthenes, *Catast.* fr. xxxii. It is hardly necessary to remark the analogy of the general conception with such myths as those of the Theseus cycle. In the Naples group the other horseman was possibly mounting.

<sup>18</sup> Hesiod. *Op.* i. 565, 598, 610, etc.

pomegranate) and looks back to Persephone whom he leaves mourning or sleeping; while his brother sinks into the ocean (suggested by its denizen the fish) to the joyful or awakening Aphrodite. According to some traditions one of the Dioscuri was young and immortal, while the other was subject to the power of age and death, and each was allowed to spend one day on earth and one day in the under-world,

‘*Si fratrem Pollux alterna morte redemit,  
Itque reditque viam totiens. . .*’<sup>19</sup>

That form of the legend would possibly prove suitable to this interpretation of the monuments, but at present the application of these details can only be tentative, as must also be any attempt to interpret the scenes as illustrating the doctrines of Pythagoras with regard to the movement and harmony of the spheres, though these are known to have spread to Locri from Croton.<sup>20</sup> Mr. E. S. G. Robinson has shown me a Locrian bronze coin of the third century on which Persephone is seated, with a star on either side of her head; others on which the Dioscuri appear in their star-crested hats.<sup>21</sup> On the terra-cottas from Tarentum the Dioscuri seldom appear unaccompanied by their starry *paterae*: the care with which these are introduced, even when not in use, makes one suspect, even if one cannot prove, some ulterior significance: I suggest an astronomical one.<sup>22</sup> These *paterae*, embossed, as often there, with a single star, occur also on the Locrian terra-cottas.

The connexion between Locri and the Ludovisi and Boston reliefs extends even to resemblances in the detail of ritual, which may be fortuitous but have a certain cumulative value. We have a boy playing the lyre, and a girl playing the double flute.<sup>23</sup> Of frequent occurrence is a candelabrum or standing censer, which in some cases at least, with its conical lid, comes near to that on the Ludovisi Throne; but it is so common an instrument of ritual elsewhere that no emphasis can be laid upon it.<sup>24</sup> Neither is there any lack of youthful winged figures such as have caused the parallel between the Boston reliefs and Attic vases to be remarked.<sup>25</sup> It seems strange that archaeologists, in looking for the place where these two sets of reliefs were originally set up, should have passed over the claims of Locri and given preference to such places as Eryx (Lanciani and Petersen), Cyprus (Studniczka), and Kanathos (Casson), on the ground of certain religious analogies, but with little or no stylistic

<sup>19</sup> Vergil. *Aen.* vi. l. 121-2. Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* ii. 30. 5; Pind. *Nem.* x. fin.; *Pyth.* xi. 60 sqq. De Quincey's reference (*Opium Eater*, p. 78, ed. Macmillan) to the Dioscuri, as morning and evening stars going up and down like alternate buckets (possibly an imaginative re-creation of the passage of Vergil cited above) is an interesting modern parallel to the simile employed by the sculptor of the Boston relief.

<sup>20</sup> Porphyry. *Vit. Pyth.* 56.

<sup>21</sup> *B.M.C. Italy*, p. 368, Nos. 35, 36; *id.* p. 369, No. 40.

<sup>22</sup> *Röm. Mitt.* xv. 1900, p. 3 sqq. Again there is the relief in the Louvre where the Dioscuri descend to the Theoxenia as the sun with his chariot rises above them. Reinach, *Reliefs*, ii. p. 256, No. 4. We can hardly suppose that in all these cases the Dioscuri exercise the same functions, or that they are always identified with the same stars.

<sup>23</sup> *Aus. l.c.* Fig. 82; cf. *Boll. l.c.* Fig. 13.

<sup>24</sup> *Boll. l.c.* Figs. 8, 12, 16, 17; *Aus. l.c.* Figs. 15, 52.

<sup>25</sup> *Boll. l.c.* Figs. 12, 38; *Aus. l.c.* Figs. 41, 42.

support. Locri supplies both. Our information from various sources on its history and religion shows that it was celebrated for its works of art, and that it possessed a famous shrine of Persephone, whose cult, much favoured in Magna Graecia, had another important centre at Syracuse. The Locrian sanctuary was first desecrated by Pyrrhus, when, if we may believe the legend, most of the treasure was brought back to the shrine.<sup>26</sup> But in 205 B.C. Scipio's *legatus*, Q. Pleminius, thoroughly plundered it.<sup>27</sup> On the evidence of the terra-cottas the cult of Persephone, combined with that of other underworld deities, and possibly with that of Aphrodite,<sup>28</sup> was celebrated with magical rites.

The hypothesis, which cannot be pressed on points of detail without further research, may be stated as follows: the Ludovisi Throne and its Boston counterpart, together with the *stèle* from the Esquiline and possibly also the Albani relief, were all set up, though perhaps not made, at Locri. The *stèle* from the Esquiline represents a votary of Persephone with the dove sacred to her.



FIG. 2.—SACRED PIT AT LOCRI.

The Albani relief shows Persephone or Demeter enthroned (with attendant worshippers on a smaller scale), holding a child, the identity of whom may be settled by further discoveries at Locri or by further study of the present material.<sup>29</sup> Finally, the Ludovisi Throne and the Boston reliefs are the product (for which Orsi was looking) of that period of Locrian or late Ionic art analogous to the early period of Pheidias at Athens, and they represent scenes of ritual connected with an under-world goddess,

probably Persephone, whose ceremonial robing was one of the principal rites.<sup>30</sup> That the Ludovisi and Boston reliefs were carried off in Roman times is clear already from their having been found near each other in Rome itself, and history gives us the names of Roman connoisseurs whose enthusiasm may well have been responsible for their removal<sup>31</sup>; while if we are seeking for the actual spot where one or both were originally set up, there

<sup>26</sup> Appian *Samn.* iii. 12; Livy xxix. 18, etc.

<sup>27</sup> Livy xxix. 8, 16–22; Diodorus xxvii. 4, etc.

<sup>28</sup> *Aus.* l.c. Fig. 41.

<sup>29</sup> It seems doubtful whether we are right in assuming, as Studniczka inclines to do, that the small figure who appears in the basket is Adonis, since in most cases it has long hair, and in one (*Boll.* l.c.

Fig. 41), like the child on the Albani relief, is certainly female.

<sup>30</sup> Doubtless the rites must have had a special application to the fate of the individual soul: compare *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, l. 480 sqq.

<sup>31</sup> By certain of her officers Rome must have been filled with works of Greek art from Sicily and South Italy, few of which have been identified in modern museums.

are few places more likely than the pit described on page 412 and illustrated on page 411 of *Bollettino d'Arte* l.c. (our Fig. 2), which, like the structure shown on one of the terra-cottas,<sup>32</sup> appears to have been the centre of an important shrine. This last question complete excavation of the site alone can settle, for although the Ludovisi Throne in its internal measurements is only .035 m. too small, and the Boston throne .02 m. too large, for the two opposite sides of this pit (a discrepancy which seems less serious when we remember, not only the differing measurements of the Ludovisi and Boston thrones, but the individual irregularities of each), there are difficulties connected with the recessed frame which surrounds the pit, and with the different slope of the panels which would be adjacent to each other if both monuments were set up round it. The theory can be tested in no better way than in the light of all available evidence, notably that collected in the articles which summarise the results of excavation at Locri. Prof. Orsi's complete publication is unfortunately not to be expected for some time. To his great kindness I am indebted for permission to work on unpublished material, to visit his unfinished excavations, and to study his valuable notes.

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<sup>32</sup> *Boll. l.c.* Fig. 16.



## THE EAST EUROPEAN RELATIONS OF THE DIMINI CULTURE

### [PLATE XII.]

THE second neolithic period in Eastern Thessaly is sharply severed from the first by the intrusion of a new culture which appears as something foreign and alien on the shores of the Pagasean Gulf.<sup>1</sup> The pottery, for example, seems utterly different from that of the first period. The forms belong to a distinct series and are typologically older. The absence of feet and strap handles, so well developed in the *A* wares, precludes us from deriving Dimini ware from any of the latter.<sup>2</sup> The characteristic designs, too, based on the spiral and the meander, are entirely foreign to the earlier series. Moreover, the use of fortifications beginning with this pottery (the traces of an earlier wall at Sesklo are exceedingly problematical<sup>3</sup>), and restricted to its area, heightens this impression of foreignness. So too do the 'megaron' houses of Dimini and Sesklo, which do not seem to find their explanation in the curvilinear or square huts of the first period.<sup>4</sup>

As to the provenance of this culture, the recent declaration of Sir Arthur Evans, that the origin of the spiral motive in Minoan ceramics is not to be sought in Crete itself,<sup>5</sup> should dispose of the only reason for deriving it from the south; for there seems no ground for supposing that the Cycladic spirals antedate those of Dimini. Indeed I have argued in a previous paper,<sup>6</sup> and my conclusion has been supported by more recent investigations,<sup>7</sup> that Thessaly II. must be dated well back in the Early Cycladic Period. On the other hand, the theory of a northern origin has been strengthened by the discovery of Dimini ware in the Strymon valley.<sup>8</sup> Indeed the general analogies between Dimini ware and the widespread group of painted and incised spiral-meander pottery north of the Balkans have been long recognised, and elaborate theories of an invasion, not only of Thessaly, but even of Crete itself, have been built up thereon.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wace and Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, p. 243.

<sup>2</sup> A progressive degeneration of ceramic technique not associated with any breach in the tradition is, of course, a common phenomenon. But this is to be distinguished from a reversion to a more primitive type.

<sup>3</sup> Wace and Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, p. 64.

<sup>4</sup> Oval near Sesklo, *ibid.* p. 74; square at Tsangli, *ibid.* p. 115.

<sup>5</sup> *Palace of Minos*, p. 114.

<sup>6</sup> *J.H.S.* xxxv. p. 201.

<sup>7</sup> *B.S.A.* xxii. p. 187. Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 123, reports the occurrence of wares of Thessaly II. below as well as in company with the oldest Early Helladic sherds at Gonia.

<sup>8</sup> *B.S.A.* xxiii. p. 45.

<sup>9</sup> Wilke, *Spiral-Mäander Keramik und Gefäss-Malerei Hellenen und Thraker*; Hadaczek, *La Colonie Industrielle de Koszylowce*; and to some extent Schmidt, *Zeitschr. für Ethnologie*, xliii. p. 601.

But general analogies between remotely separated ceramic groups as a basis for invasion hypotheses have become rather discredited of late. How many pretty theories would fall to the ground, for instance, if we agreed that the well-known high-footed bowl (*Pilzegefäss*) might well have developed separately from the fusion of the primitive baseless spheroid bowl with the originally independent ring support in the widely separated localities where it is met.<sup>10</sup> Indeed by discounting the possibilities of such parallel development and taking a few liberties with chronology, it would be possible to derive almost any ceramic group from any other; for, in being shaped to meet common human needs, clay must often take on similar forms. But if we are to establish a generic relationship between disconnected groups, we must not rely on casual and isolated resemblances—a foot here and a lug-handle there—and mere coincidences in ornamental designs. Such a procedure would resemble that of the pre-scientific philologists who collated individual words instead of their root forms. Secure inferences to an invasion or cultural movement can only be based upon a close similarity in technique, parallels between root forms and correspondence in the ideals and aims of the potters and painters.

On the other hand, Wace and Thompson<sup>11</sup> seem inclined to minimise unduly the coincidences between Dimini and what I may call the East European painted group. What is really surprising is not the differences but the resemblances between sherds from Dimini and places so remote as Szípeniz in Bukovina, Kostowce near Lemburg (Lwow) and Priesterhügel on the Alt. No doubt sherds from these respective sites are easily distinguishable—so for that matter are sherds of red on white ware (A 3 β) from Chaeronea and Tsangli, for example. But it is not and cannot be here a question of one ware manufactured at one of the numerous centres of this neolithic culture and exported to all the rest. Nevertheless, even applying the rigid principles laid down above, I hope to be able to show that we are justified in speaking of one ware—or group of wares—as being common to Thessaly and the East European stations in the same sense as A 3 β is common to Thessaly and Phocis, or ‘primitive glaze-ware’ to the Aegean islands, Tiryns and Orchomenos, despite local differences.

Let us take the typical Dimini wares and compare them from the point of view of technique, form, and ornament with those from the East European group. For convenience I will group the typical East Thessalian pottery (B 3 α and B 3 β) in four categories and trace the affinities of each north of the Balkans.

(1) *Black on red Ware* (B 3 α, Style 2).—‘The paint varies from chocolate to black, and the colour of the polished biscuit to which it is directly applied from red to yellow-buff.’<sup>12</sup> The same ware is found in the Strymon valley in Macedonia. This technique certainly recurs in South Russia. Von Stern, describing the first style of painted ware from Petreny in Bessarabia, says that ‘the surface is carefully polished and designs in one colour—black, or violet

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Hoernes, *Die Formentwicklung der Kunst* (2nd ed.), pp. 262 f.

*präh. Tongefässe, Jahrb. f. Altertumskunde*, 1911, pp. 2 ff. *Ungeschichte der bildenden*

<sup>11</sup> *Prehistoric Thessaly*, pp. 257–8.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* p. 16.

brown—applied directly to the surface.<sup>13</sup> The latter is generally represented as orange red in the excellent plates which accompany his report.

Chwoiko does not state whether the vases he discovered in stations of the Kiev Government are slipped or not. But I have seen unslipped orange-red ware with designs in black paint from stations of his Culture *B*.<sup>14</sup>

At Szipenitz in Bukowina about half the painted sherds are unslipped. The clay is generally reddish and the surface which is normally highly polished, varies in colour from deep red to light buff just like Dimini ware. The designs are in black—generally a warm tone—but are sometimes enhanced by very thin red lines.

The same technique is met in Transylvania. From Erösd we have a sherd ornamented with black meanders on a polished red ground.<sup>15</sup> But more usually the interspaces are painted in matt white.

It is not always easy to distinguish this technique from the next category.

(2) *Slipped Ware*.—‘The white ground is formed by a slip of varying thickness. The black paint sometimes inclines to a brownish shade. This category is not always polished.’<sup>16</sup> Actually the surface is rarely dead white. Usually it is a pale yellow, sometimes greenish and sometimes brownish.

The typical pottery of Petreny exhibits the same technique, which von Stern thus describes: ‘The clay, hard-burnt and varying from red to yellow, is covered with a slip white, yellow, brown, or reddish. The darker slips are generally polished, the lighter ones are matt.’<sup>17</sup> The black or violet-brown paint is in this supplemented, though only rarely, with a few stripes of thin red.

Again in Chwoiko’s Culture *B* some of the sherds are slipped. In the examples that I have seen, the slip is buff. The paint is warm black and the whole is polished.

The pottery from Cucuteni *B* corresponds remarkably well to the above quoted description of Dimini ware. The biscuit is pink, but is covered with a good creamy white slip on which the designs are executed in warm black, occasionally with auxiliary lines in thin red. The surface is usually polished.

A common ware from Szipenitz on the Pruth also falls within this category. The biscuit is light red to orange-buff and is covered with a pale slip. On this surface, which has generally a darkish yellow, almost buff tint, the designs are painted in black to which a few stripes of thin brownish-red are occasionally added, and the whole is highly polished. Though the tint of this pottery is rather darker than the average Dimini sherds and its polish somewhat higher, the resemblances in texture and technique are surprising.

From Galicia too some examples from the Bernstein collection in the Ashmolean Museum exhibit a similar technique, but burnish is less common. As red paint is generally used in addition to black, this material properly

<sup>13</sup> *Die prämykenische Kultur in Südrussland*, p. 58.

<sup>14</sup> *Trudy*, XI. *archeol. S'ezda*, p. 769; *Izvestia. Imp. Archeol. Kommissia*, xii., 1904, p. 99.

<sup>15</sup> *Mitt. präh. Comm. Wien*, l.c. p. 390, fig. 134.

<sup>16</sup> Wace and Thompson, *op. cit.*

<sup>17</sup> *L.c.*

belongs to our fourth category. It will be noted that the samples of these wares from Bessarabia, Bukowina, and Galicia on which red is used as an auxiliary colour present an almost complete analogy to the Thessalian B 3 γ, which, judging by the shape of the jug figured by Tsountas (Plate XI.), belongs to the eastern group.<sup>18</sup>

The Thessalian polychrome ware (B 3 β) also falls into two classes (corresponding to the two classes of monochrome ware) according as the colours are applied direct to the biscuit or over a light slip.

(3) *Two-colour Ware*.—The designs are in black and white on a polished red ground. The black is used mainly to outline the white.

The typical Transylvanian wares are decorated on this principle. On some sherds from Erösd the design is in white on a red ground and is outlined in black.<sup>19</sup> At Priesterhügel the designs are in black, the interspaces being filled up with white so as to give the effect of designs in red outlined with black on a white ground. Here the red ground and the black shine with polish, but the white remains matt and dusty in appearance. Teutsch says that the white is also polished on the sherds from Erösd, but that the black remains dull. (Fig. 1.)

The same technique is found in Galicia, where the white is applied sometimes in bands outlined in black and even used as the ground for further designs in red or black, or more rarely it covers the greater part of the surfaces, red bands outlined in black being left reserved. The red surfaces always show a good burnish and their rich colour may be due to a red slip or wash.<sup>20</sup> The white is sometimes dull. In these wares the black is not absolutely restricted to mere outlining, but acquires a certain independence. At the same time the white is sometimes applied without an outline of black, as in the rude white spirals on a jar in the Ashmolean. Nevertheless, when looked at side by side, sherds of this ware are seen to bear an extraordinary likeness to sherds of B 3 β.

At Szípenitz a somewhat similar use of polychromy was also found with spirals in black bordered with white.<sup>21</sup>

Such polychromy is not found at Petreny.

(4) *Three-colour Ware*.—The designs are painted in red and outlined with black on a whitish slip.

• This applies also to the polychrome ware described by Chwoiko as coming from Tripolje and other stations of his 'Culture A' in the Kiev Government

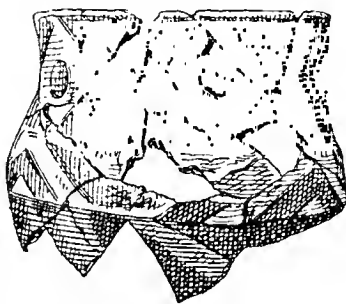


FIG. 1.—POLYCHROME URN FROM TRANSYLVANIA, WITH DESIGN REMINISCENT OF MAEANDER.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Tsountas, *D. and S.*, Pl. LXXVII., with W. and T., Pl. I.

<sup>19</sup> *Mitt. der prähist. Comm. d. k. Akad. Wien*, 1903, p. 390, Fig. 135 and text.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Hadaczek, *op. cit.*, Figs. 59, 74, and 128, and description.

<sup>21</sup> *Jahrb. d. k. k. Zentral-Kommission zur Erhaltung usw.*, 1904, p. 22.

and to the oldest pottery of Cucuteni. The designs are in reddish-brown on a light ground and their contours are outlined in black.<sup>22</sup>

In Galicia too we have examples in which the whole vase-surface is painted with a heavy white or cream slip on which are drawn bands of red and black. Though the black is commonly used to outline the red surfaces, this practice is by no means invariable. In the large vase of Plate XII.*b* there is no outlining, and the black spirals are applied independently over the red. In another case (Plate XII.*c*) we have an unaccompanied white spiral on the red painted surface. The general effect of this ware is extraordinarily similar to that of the previous category, and it is only by the closest scrutiny possible to distinguish whether the characteristic red bands are painted on a light slip or merely reserved. And both styles may occur on the same vase (Plate XII.*a*).

In Thessaly the designs, consisting of spirals, meanders, chequers, and other combinations of rectilinear and curvilinear figures, cover the whole surface of the vase thickly. Blocks of painting are preferred to simple lines. In the East European group the motives are less closely packed, and in the monochrome wares simple black lines are the rule. In the wares of Culture *B* on the Dniepre, of Petreny, Cucuteni II., Szipenitz, and several Galician sites the ornament is restricted to the upper half of the big vases and the exposed side of the dishes. Moreover, the motives are rather different from the Thessalian. Concentric circles, tangential circles, stars, arcs, branching lines and simple bands are predominant (Figs. 2 and 7). In fact the true spiral is rare, and it is only possible to cite a very few good examples among all the sherds known to me from these numerous sites.<sup>23</sup> On the other hand, apart from the purely linear designs, chiefly on the small cups, the typical motives are reminiscent of the spiral and presuppose it as their basic principle. In fact they often give the impression of being the work of artists who are acquainted with that pattern and are trying to reproduce it, or who have the tradition of the design but are losing the skill to execute it. The ground principle of all this decoration is therefore the same as that of Dimini ware—the use of geometrical designs based on the spiral, and in Transylvania on the meander.

On the other hand, it is interesting to note the recurrence of naturalistic motives—human and animal figures—at Petreny,<sup>24</sup> Rzhishchev near Kiev (Culture *B*),<sup>25</sup> and Koszyłowce in Galicia.<sup>26</sup> And at Petreny, just as in the pottery of Susa,<sup>27</sup> we can trace in some cases quite clearly the transformation of such naturalistic motives into geometrical figures—the jumping dog, for

<sup>22</sup> *Trudy*, XI. *arch. S'ezda*, p. 805. esp. par. (4) and Tabl. XXVIII. 1, 2, and 11 in colours; cf. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 139 and Fig. 30.

<sup>23</sup> (cf., e.g., for Petreny von Stern, *op. cit.*, Pl. X. 2; Kiev area, *Trudy*, Pl. XXIII. 7; for Galicia, Hoernes, *N.K.O.* Fig. 255, and Hadaczek, No. 115; for Bukowina, *Jahrb. l.e.*, Figs. 7 and 10; for Erösd, *Mitt. l.e.*, Fig. 135. etc.

<sup>24</sup> Von Stern, *op. cit.*, Pl. II. 3, IX. 4 and 6 (men), IX. 1, 2, 7, 8 and 9 (animals).

<sup>25</sup> *Zapiski Imp. Arch. Obshchestva Russ.-Slav. Otdel.*, 1904, Tabl. III. 2 and 5.

<sup>26</sup> Koszyłowce, Hadaczek, *op. cit.* Pl. XVIII. 154, XIX. 162, XXI. 188 ff.

<sup>27</sup> For a convenient study of analogous transformations in the pottery of Susa, cf. Spearing, *The Childhood of Art*, pp. 258 f.



FIG. 2.—ORNAMENTED DISHES FROM PETRENY. (Scale *a*, 2 : 3; *b*, 1 : 5.)



FIG. 3.—STYLISATION OF ANIMAL MOTIVES AT PETRENY. (Scale 1 : 3.)



FIG. 4.—TYPICAL DIMINI BOWL, AFTER TSOUNTAS.

instance, into an irregular triangle<sup>28</sup> (Fig. 3). So the 'signs' occupying vacant fields on the black painted vases of Culture B which Chwoiko took for hieroglyphics are almost certainly remnants of such animal designs.<sup>29</sup>

From Thessaly we know unfortunately only three or four certain shapes in Dimini ware—the deep bowl (Fig. 4), a jug with a conical neck,<sup>30</sup> the fruit-stand,<sup>31</sup> and a small cup.<sup>32</sup> On the other hand, the East European wares, while presenting a remarkable wealth of shapes, are closely bound together by the recurrence at every site of certain highly characteristic types. These are the 'binocular vase' or stand,<sup>33</sup> bulging jars with angular profiles and small bases,<sup>34</sup> saucers or bowls with small bases,<sup>35</sup> and small cups narrowing to a conical base<sup>36</sup> (Figs. 5, 6, 7, 8). It is important to note that at Koszylowce in Galicia these last develop genuine handles and assume a shape showing close analogies with the 'Nordic' ceramic of Bohemia. In one case we even find the *ansa lunata* characteristic of the latter group.<sup>37</sup> Except for the dishes none of these forms can be directly paralleled in Dimini ware, and even these exhibit considerable divergences. At Petreny, for instance, they are normally only ornamented on the inside. Here we find, however, another hemispherical type provided with pierced knobs on the outer surface, and hence evidently intended for suspension, on which the decoration is applied to the outer surface.<sup>38</sup> In Galicia both sides are painted.

Now, without ignoring the differences, it is essential to realise that the architectonic type of this whole series of dishes—the inverted cone—is the same as that of the Dimini bowl. It is not, therefore, surprising that in individual cases their form almost coincides with that of the latter—*e.g.* in the example from Cucuteni, the last quoted form from Szípenitz, etc. (Fig. 9). Moreover, the big bulging vases which are so characteristic for the East European group, have, in common with the dishes and bowls, the inverted cone as their structural principle. Cut them off at the shoulder and you have the cone-shaped dish left as the base. An examination of some of the intermediate types from Bessarabia or Galicia<sup>39</sup> will show how very close this relation is (Fig. 10). Hence we are justified in saying that the typical forms in Dimini ware and in the East European painted wares go back to the same ground type.

<sup>28</sup> *E.g.* von Stern, *op. cit.* Plate XII. 4 and 5.

<sup>29</sup> *Zapiski Imp. Odessk. Obshchestva Istor. i Drevnos.* xxiii. p. 199. The second sign in the middle row on the plate there is plainly the same as some of von Stern's animals.

<sup>30</sup> W. and T., Pl. I.

<sup>31</sup> Tsountas, *D. and S.*, Pl. X.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.* Pl. XXI. No. 3.

<sup>33</sup> *Trudy*, l.c. Tabl. XXVIII. 9 and 11, XXVI. 21, *Jahrb. k. k. Zentral-Komm.*, 1903, Figs. 106 ff., 1904, p. 26, Fig. 22 (Szípenitz); Hadaczek, *l.c.* xix. 168.

<sup>34</sup> *Trudy*, l.c. Tabl. XXVIII (Kiev A); von Stern, *op. cit.*, Pls. X. 8, XII. 3, etc. (Petreny), *Jahrb.* 1904, p. 43, Fig. 45

(Szípenitz), *ibid.* 1905, p. 114, Figs. 253 and 254 (Bileze Złota); Hadaczek, xv. 123, 124, and 128 (Kosz.), *Zeitschr. f. Eth.* xliii. Fig. 3, No. 2 (Cucuteni).

<sup>35</sup> Von Stern, Pl. VI., 10, 11, etc., *Jahrb.* 1903, p. 103, Figs. 101 and 103; Hadaczek, viii. 51, ix. 59, etc., *Zeitschr. l.c.* Fig. 3, No. 2, etc.

<sup>36</sup> Von Stern, Pl. IV. 8, etc., *Jahrb.* 1904, *l.c.* Figs. 46 and 47; Hadaczek, xiii. 105, etc.

<sup>37</sup> Hadaczek, xiii. 116 and 119. The 'Nordic' ware is in the National Museum at Prague.

<sup>38</sup> Von Stern, Pl. VI., 9.

<sup>39</sup> *E.g.* Hadaczek, x. 74; Von Stern, *ibid.*; *cf.* his remarks on p. 68.



FIG. 5.—CUPS WITH CONICAL BASES FROM PETRENY. (Scale 1 : 2.)



FIG. 6.—CUP WITH CONICAL BASE FROM KOSTOWCE.  
ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM. (Scale 3 : 10.)



FIG. 7.—LARGE URN WITH CONICAL BASE FROM PETRENY. (Scale 1 : 8.)  
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Wace and Thompson have already pointed out the similarity between the 'fruit-stands' of Cucuteni and those of Thessaly,<sup>40</sup> and the so-called 'Binocular vases' have long been regarded as a peculiar development of the same series.<sup>41</sup>

In the light of such fundamental analogies, a comparison between the small shoulder-handles occasionally met in Dimini ware and similar handles from Petreny, Koszylowce, etc. (Fig. 11),<sup>42</sup> and between the modelled human and animal heads on the rims of bowls from Dimini and Sesklo and similar modelling on vessels from the Kiev Government becomes significant.<sup>43</sup>

The foregoing comparison of Dimini ware and the East European painted pottery has revealed that the same technique is common to both groups, that their characteristic ornaments go back to a common range of stylistic motives, and that the typical shapes in each are based upon a common ground type. When we proceed to compare other aspects of the cultures associated with this pottery, we discover a still further range of correspondences. But before developing this point, attention must be drawn to a very serious difficulty that confronts the student of the East European culture.

All the evidence indicates that it had a very long duration, and accordingly the variations which it presents may be due not only to local causes, but also to temporal differences. Yet we have so far in the whole range of this culture only one stratigraphical record—that of Cucuteni—to guide us. Szípenitz seems to have been a deep deposit, but the stratification is not recorded. At Koszylowce, Hadaczek expressly states<sup>44</sup> that the material was 'monoform' throughout. On the Dniepr, however, Chwoiko has divided his sites into two groups which he calls Cultures *A* and *B*. From the former come the polychrome vases, the jars with incised spirals and the binocular stands. In this group the ornament generally is applied to the whole surface of the vase, but in Culture *B* it is confined to the upper part. Moreover, in the latter only black is used, the designs are linear instead of block, and the patterns on incised ware are much poorer. On the other hand, the best figurines, the painted men and animals, and the vases with modelled heads belong to Culture *B*. Now no objects of metal and no bored celts have been found in association with Culture *B*, while sites of Culture *A* have yielded celts and axes of pure copper and bored celts. Chwoiko accordingly considers that Culture *A* comes later in time than Culture *B*, the area of the two being almost identical.<sup>45</sup> And it is just here that the crux of the problem comes. At Cucuteni the polychrome vases which we should naturally correlate with those of Chwoiko's Culture *A*, come from the lower, purely neolithic stratum. Objects of copper occur only in the upper levels associated with monochrome pottery in which the linear designs in black are restricted to the upper parts of the vessel.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>40</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 257.

<sup>41</sup> Hoernes, *N.K.O.* p. 120. A comparison between Chwoiko's double and single stands, *Trudy*, Tabl. XXVI. 20 and 21, will illustrate this point.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. W. and T., Pl. I., with von Stern, ii. 1, xii. 11, etc.; and Hadaczek, xvii. 147, etc.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. esp. Tsountas, Pl. XXIII. 3, and *Trudy*, Tabl. XXIV. 10.

<sup>44</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 4.

<sup>45</sup> Chwoiko in *Trudy*, l.c. pp. 805 ff.; cf. Minns, *op. cit.* pp. 139 ff.

<sup>46</sup> Schmidt, *Zeitschr. für Ethnol.*, xliii. pp. 594 f.

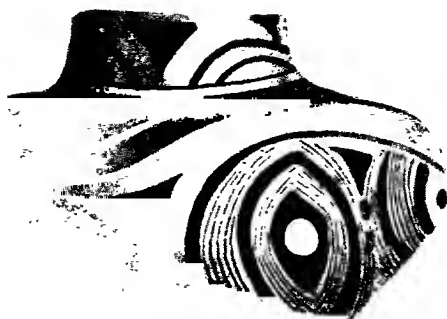


FIG. 8.—LARGE URN WITH CONICAL BASE : CULTURE A ON THE DNEPR.



FIG. 9.—DIAGRAMS SHOWING DEVELOPMENT OF CONICAL BOWLS FROM SZIPENITZ.



FIG. 10.—CONICAL BOWL AND INTERMEDIATE FORM FROM PETRENY. (Scale 1 : 2.)



FIG. 11.—HANDLE-BUILDING ON AN URN FROM PETRENY. (Scale 1 : 3.)

And it is this later ware which Wace and Thompson assert<sup>47</sup> shows the closest resemblances to the ceramic of Petreny. The latter in its turn obviously connects on with Chwoiko's Culture *B* both in pottery and in being purely Stone Age. So the attempt to find a chronological arrangement for the East European culture lands us at once in a contradiction.

But with the reservation that the Eastern European culture must not be regarded as a point in time, that culture presents a tolerably homogeneous aspect which agrees in essential points with that of Eastern Thessaly in the Second Period.

In all the East European stations, as at Dimini and Sesklo, nude female figurines occur. This is a phenomenon that they share with the wider area of the so-called *Bandkeramik*<sup>48</sup> pottery further west, and with the earlier epoch in Thessaly, not to mention any further distribution of such objects. But in contrast to the figurines of Butmir,<sup>49</sup> Jablonitz,<sup>50</sup> Znaïm (Znojmo),<sup>51</sup> etc., and Thessaly I.,<sup>52</sup> those we are now considering are relatively flat. In particular the careful modelling of the head distinctive of the Servian, Bosnian, and Moravian idols as of the earlier class in Thessaly is never found. On the other hand, steatopygy is generally indicated though not very pronounced.<sup>53</sup> In East Europe the arms are either folded on the breast or represented as extended by rude stumps which, in extreme cases, give rise to a shapeless cruciform object. The East European figures are generally pierced with string-holes for suspension, a practice which is paralleled in Thessaly.<sup>54</sup> In some cases the body is covered with incised<sup>55</sup> or painted patterns. In decoration, some of the painted figurines from Rzhishchev near Kiev (Culture *B*) (Fig. 12, *a*, *b*) present a surprising likeness to the seated idol from Sesklo<sup>56</sup>—note especially the spiroïdal pattern over the genitals—while two sitting women with arms folded on the breasts from the same culture recall the Sesklo form<sup>57</sup> (Fig. 13).

In addition to the human figurines, we possess a remarkable series of

<sup>47</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 257.

<sup>48</sup> The original contrast between ornamentation with solid running designs or ribbons and simple single lines such as the impress of a string which formed the original basis of the division into *Bandkeramik*, *Schnurkeramik*, etc., is regarded by Hoernes, whom I am in general following, as less significant than that between designs which run continuously round the vase surface—constituting a sort of band—and those which divide up the surface as it were into metopes. Actually the two classifications largely coincide, but there is naturally a tendency to modify the meaning of *Band* under the influence of the newer division. In his latest work Hoernes therefore occasionally uses the word quite in the sense of the English 'band.' With this proviso I feel justified in retaining *Bandkeramik*—a term

which is convenient and familiar and which has at least a precise denotation.

<sup>49</sup> *Die neolith. Station von Butmir*, Pl. II.

<sup>50</sup> Hoernes, *N.K.O.* Fig. 83.

<sup>51</sup> Palliardi in *Mitt. d. prah. Comm. Wien*, 1897, Pl. IV.

<sup>52</sup> Tsountas, *op. cit.* Pl. XXXII. 1.

<sup>53</sup> *E. g.* Hoernes, *Les premières Céramiques en Europe central*, Figs. 18 f.

<sup>54</sup> With Tsountas, Pl. XXXV. 2, cf. von Stern, Pl. VI. 16, *Jahrb. der k. k. Z. Kom.* 1904, p. 23, *ibid.* 1905; Hoernes, Fig. 269, *Trudy*, Tabl. XXII. 1, etc.

<sup>55</sup> Hoernes, *P.C.* l.c.

<sup>56</sup> *Zapiski Imp. Russ. Arkh. Obshchestva*, 1904, Tabl. I. 3 and 5; cf. Tsountas, Pl. XXXI. 2.

<sup>57</sup> *Trudy*, Tabl. XXII. 3 and 7; cf. Minns, Fig. 33.

models of domestic animals—principally cattle—from Petreny,<sup>58</sup> Szípenitz, Koszyłowce,<sup>59</sup> Priesterhügel<sup>60</sup> and other stations which we may compare with the animal figures from Dimini and Sesklo.<sup>61</sup>

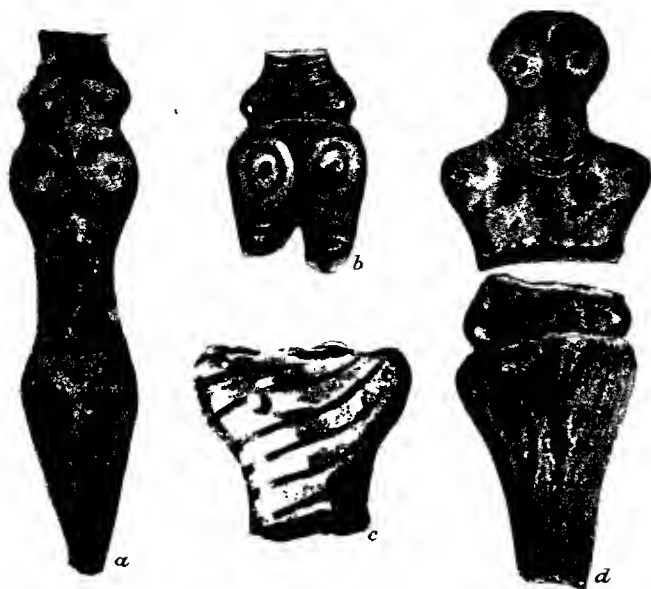


FIG. 12.—EAST EUROPEAN FIGURINES :  
a, b FROM RZHIŠCHEV, c, d FROM PETRENY.



FIG. 13.—SEATED *KOUROI* MODEL FROM SESKLO.

Stone implements are very rare in the East European group and generally very roughly fashioned. This circumstance is to be explained, as far as South

<sup>58</sup> Von Stern, Pl. VI. 13, 14, 18.

p. 370.

<sup>59</sup> Hadaczek, Pls. XXXI and XXXII.

<sup>61</sup> Tsountas, *op. cit.* Pls. XXXIV. Nos.

<sup>60</sup> *Mitt. der präh. Comm.* 1903 Fig. 16, 10 and 11, XXXVI. No. 8.

Russia is concerned at any rate, by the lack of suitable materials in the alluvial area. As far as can be judged, a flat celt resembling Tsountas' type *B* was the rule. The occurrence of obsidian at Petreny and Priesterhügel is noteworthy. This was probably derived from the Tokay region in Hungary, and the extension of the culture across the Carpathians along the valley of the Alt is probably to be explained by the obsidian traffic. The general paucity in stone implements is counterbalanced by the exceptional superabundance of artifacts—needles, borers, fish-hooks, hammers, axes, etc.—in horn and bone which astonishes us in all the sites of the East European culture. The same peculiarity is noticeable at Dimini and Sesklo. Finally, as has been remarked, axes and celts of copper have been found in stations of Culture *A* along the Dniepre and in the upper stratum at Cucuteni, while a borer and ring of the same material was found by a hearth at Priesterhügel,<sup>62</sup> and metal objects also occur in Galicia.<sup>63</sup> This indicates that the East European painted pottery lasts on into the transitional period. The presence of moulds in the stations of the Kiev Government proves that metal working was practised locally there. The similarity between the very curious copper axes from Tripolje and some in stone from Hissarlik<sup>64</sup> suggests that the knowledge of metallurgy came from Troy. But the copper celts are mostly of a quite early form, following closely stone prototypes.<sup>65</sup> Thus they recall the two copper celts found by Tsountas<sup>66</sup> at Sesklo by the walls of a neolithic house, and make us wonder whether the latter do not, in fact, belong to the context in which they were actually found. In that case they would constitute a further and strong link in the chain that unites the latter culture with that of East Europe.

The importance of the fortifications of Dimini in distinguishing the characteristic culture of that site from the earlier civilisation of North Greece has already been remarked. Hence it is all the more significant that Cucuteni was also defended by a wall even in the first period. Traces of a wall have also been observed at Erösd.<sup>67</sup> The other sites of this culture too are generally on hills, though walls have not been distinguished.

Turning to architecture, we have evidence in some cases at least of rectangular oblong huts roofed with wattle-and-daub. The so-called 'areas'—*ploshchadki*—of von Stern and Chwoiko were built on this plan. But both these investigators assert<sup>68</sup> that these constructions were not designed as habitations for the living but as repositories for the ashes of the dead. They seem to base their contention chiefly on the following points: the absence of kitchen refuse and hearths, the occurrence of what Chwoiko calls pyramids of stone and pedestals of clay, often painted, the arrangement of the areas in rough circles with larger areas at their centres, the polishing and painting with

<sup>62</sup> *Mitt. der präh. Comm.* 1903, p. 366.

<sup>63</sup> Hadaczek, p. 4.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. *Trudy*, l.c. Pl. XXI. 11 and *Schliemann's Sammlung*, No. 7196.

<sup>65</sup> *Trudy*, Tabl. XXI. 5 and 10, and Schmidt, l.c. Fig. 14.

<sup>66</sup> Tsountas, *op. cit.* p. 352 and Figs. 292 and 293.

<sup>67</sup> *Mitt. präh. Comm.* 1903, p. 387.

<sup>68</sup> Chwoiko, *Trudy*, pp. 808 f., *Zap. Imp. Russ. Arch. Obshchestva*, 1904, p. 1 ff.; von Stern, *op. cit.*, esp. pp. 54 f. and 71 ff.

ochre of the hut walls, and the careful arrangement of the vases within the structures.

No human bone remains were found at Petreny, but Chwoiko records the discovery at Veremje, Tripolje, and Shcherbanevka of bits of human bones. Twice these remains are stated to have been in vases,<sup>69</sup> but in other cases they lay outside the areas. The complete skeletons, buried in the contracted position, found near Veremje and Chalepje, like those discovered later near Kanontsa over hut dwellings,<sup>70</sup> are definitely said to be due to later interments which had disturbed the original culture stratum. These burials belong to the series of 'coloured skeletons' which are met with from the Caucasus to the Dniepr,<sup>71</sup> and which are accordingly dated to a period subsequent to that of the painted pottery.<sup>72</sup> It is impossible within the limits of this article to review this whole question. Minns accepts the theory of von Stern and Chwoiko as to the cremation burials in the areas, but a careful study of the evidence adduced by these authors in the *Trudy* has not convinced me of the existence of the unparalleled practice of depositing cinerary urns in such elaborate houses.<sup>73</sup> Hadaczek, too, absolutely rejects the cremation hypothesis.<sup>74</sup> On that point I recommend a suspension of judgment. But whether the areas were actually designed as habitations of the dead or of the living, all analogies would justify the assumption that they preserved in their rectangular form the house-type of the living.

This inference of a rectangular house-type is confirmed by the huts of admitted settlements at Rzhishchev and elsewhere. These habitations were also oblong rectangles scooped out of the ground to a depth of, on an average, less than half a metre, and roofed over with a structure of wattle and daub. Within the rectangle and sometimes extending outside it was a deeper excavation or *bothros*—often 1.50 m. deep. The latter, which were rectangular or oval in outline, invariably contained an 'oven' or a 'hearth,' sometimes two, and were filled with a deep layer of shells, fish and animal bones, and other kitchen refuse mixed up with the debris of the roof, showing traces of the original supporting poles in the burnt mud-plaster. The area of the hut proper varied from 3.20 m. by 2.70 m. to 6.30 m. by 3.40 m., and of the *bothros* from 1.90 m. by 1.30 m. in the first case to 2.70 m. by 2.20 m. in the larger, in which the greater part of the *bothros* projected at right angles to the long side of the hut. 'The first and much higher part' of these structures, writes

<sup>69</sup> *Trudy*, pp. 779 and 794.

<sup>70</sup> *Zap. I. R. A. Obshch.* l.c., pp. 20-3.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, *Trudy*, 776 and 786.

<sup>72</sup> Minns, *op. cit.* p. 142.

<sup>73</sup> One of the so-called pyramids may be seen in Minns, Fig. 28, top row, and a pedestal in Fig. 31, top. Plenty of bones of horses and other animals were, in fact, found in the areas (*Trudy*, pp. 754-6, 780-4, 794 f., etc., von Stern, p. 52) sometimes partially burnt—von Stern explains them as burnt-offerings to the ghost—as

well as remains of various grains. On the other hand, the areas do seem in some cases too large for ordinary houses, varying in size from 5½ m. by 4 m. (Tripolje) to 18 m. by 12 m. (Zhukovtsy, area 2). Minns, however, mentions later and more conclusive evidence not yet published. Still Aillio's recently published criticism should finally dispose of the cremation theory (*Fragen der russ. Steinzeit*, pp. 91 f.).

<sup>74</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 7.

Chwoiko,<sup>75</sup> 'served as the living-room; the lower part was destined for the preparation of food.' Szombathy clearly detected the rectangular plan of similar wattle-and-daub huts, sometimes also provided with *bothroi*, at Szípenitz,<sup>76</sup> and a similar type may be inferred for Erösd.<sup>77</sup> Hence, without prejudice to the cremation question, we may say that an oblong house somewhat elaborately built of wattle-and-daub, was the prevailing type in the East European area, and compare it to the oblong rectangular 'megara' of Dimini and Sesklo.

Finally, the neolithic inhabitants of Eastern Europe were not only agriculturists but also cultivated the domestic animals. The importance of cattle is indicated by the figurines already mentioned. The bones from Petreny and a complete skull from Szípenitz point to the *bos primigenius*.<sup>78</sup> Other bones include the sheep, probably the moufflon,<sup>79</sup> the goat, the pig (*sus scrofa*)<sup>80</sup> and the dog. At all sites in the Kiev Government horse bones were very common, and Hadaczek recognises the same animal among the figurines from Koszyłowce.<sup>81</sup>

On the whole, then, the general level of material culture revealed by the excavations in East Europe agrees with the pottery evidence, and coincides remarkably with that brought to light in Eastern Thessaly.

Now with the painted wares at Dimini, Sesklo, Rakhmani, and perhaps Phthiotic Thebes, goes a certain amount of incised ware decorated with the same designs of spirals and meanders. This material shows considerable resemblance to the wide group of the incised spiral-meander pottery found in Serbia, Bosnia, Italy and elsewhere. Hence the question of the origin of Dimini ware is complicated by the intrusion of a rival to the East European group in the claim to its parentage. This at once opens the whole question of the relation of the Thessalian wares on the one hand, and the East European pottery on the other, to the widespread series of the *Bandkeramik* of which Butmir is generally regarded as typical.

And we must at once admit that in design the wares from Butmir show the most striking analogies to the characteristic Dimini patterns. In fact it is there rather than in any station with painted pottery that the most exact parallels to those designs occur. It is here, for example, that we meet just those solid spirals and meanders, those chess-board patterns, and that alternation of geometrical designs,<sup>82</sup> that are most distinctive of Dimini ware. It is, moreover, also possible to parallel the Dimini forms with individual instances at Butmir,<sup>83</sup> and the poor statuettes from Thessaly are comparable to isolated examples from the Bosnian site.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>75</sup> *Zapiski*, l.c. p. 24. In construction the neolithic huts of Grossgartach provide a close parallel. Cf. Déchelette, *Manuel d'Archéologie*, Vol. I. p. 360.

<sup>76</sup> *Jahrb. der. k. k. Z. Komm.* 1903, p. 102.

<sup>77</sup> *Mitt. präh. Comm. Wien*, 1903, p. 387.

<sup>78</sup> Von Stern, *op. cit.* p. 78.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.* p. 77, *Mitt.*, l.c., etc.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>81</sup> Hadaczek, p. 7.

<sup>82</sup> E.g., *Die neol. Station von Butmir*, Pl. VIII. 12 and 15 (solid designs), XII. 15 (chequers), XII. 15 and 16, and Hoernes, *N.K.O.* Figs. 11 and 13 (alternation of designs).

<sup>83</sup> *Butmir*, Pl. VII. 9 (dish).

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.* Pl. III. 8, 1, and 13.

But these parallels are not based on root-forms and do violence to the stratigraphical sequence of the Butmir material. The basic shape for the *Bandkeramik* at Butmir and elsewhere is the spheroid bowl (*Bombentopf*).<sup>85</sup> This sometimes developed a foot<sup>86</sup> or even feet,<sup>87</sup> but it did not flatten its base and take on the angular conical outline which is fundamental in the Dimini bowl, save in isolated and probably late—because unornamented—instances.<sup>88</sup> Similarly, as noted above, the typical figurines from Servia<sup>89</sup> and Butmir<sup>90</sup> are marked by very excellent modelling, and it is these which come from the lower strata where the ornamented pottery is found. The figurines of Thessaly II. are crudely executed, and the isolated parallels from Butmir presumably come from a horizon later than that of the good wares that are comparable with Dimini.<sup>91</sup> Furthermore, though red sherds do occur, the Butmir and allied wares seem to aim at what Myres calls a black-faced technique,<sup>92</sup> those of Thessaly as well as the whole East European series at a red. Again, the careful study by Wace and Thompson of the stratification at Rakhmani reveals that the incised ware begins after and not before the painted ware.<sup>93</sup> That would suggest that the incised patterns of B 2 imitate the designs of B 3  $\alpha$ , not vice versa. The designs do, in fact, create rather this impression, and some of the forms seem typologically later than those of the painted variety.<sup>94</sup>

Finally, tracing Dimini ware northward, it is in the east of Macedonia, not on the route to Serbia, that it recurs.<sup>95</sup> And further north and east we meet connexions in the chalcolithic stations of Eastern Bulgaria whose characteristic pottery shows affinities rather with Dimini on the one hand and South Russia on the other than with more western sites such as Vinča or Butmir. Certainly the early culture of Eastern Bulgaria is highly specialised, so that an adequate discussion of it would be out of place here. I may, however, mention that, among the sherds from the excavations of MM. Seure and Degrand<sup>96</sup> at Tell Ratcheff on the Toundja and Tell Metchkur on the Maritza near Philippopolis, which I have been enabled to examine by the courtesy of the conservators of the Museum of St. Germain-en-Laye, is a considerable quantity of red ware, derived apparently from the lower strata, ornamented with curvilinear motives, spirals,<sup>97</sup> and rudimentary meanders<sup>98</sup> in dull white paint, closely resembling in technique as in design the first category of Dimini ware. Moreover, a close examination of the sherds seems to prove that, according to the firing, this

<sup>85</sup> Hoernes, *N.K.O.* pp. 9 f. Cf. Butmir, Pl. II. 21, etc.

<sup>86</sup> E. g., *Butmir*, VI. 3.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.* VII. 7.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.* VII. 9.

<sup>89</sup> *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 3 and Fig. 3.

<sup>90</sup> *Butmir*, I. 1, 3 and 5, II. 1 and 2.

<sup>91</sup> Hoernes, *N.K.O.*, calls attention to the progressive degeneration of the ceramics of Butmir, p. 12. The analogies quoted by Tsountas, *op. cit.* pp. 371 ff., are between his third period and the rougher Butmir wares.

<sup>92</sup> *J.A.I.* xxxiii. pp. 367 f.

<sup>93</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 37.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.* Fig. 9, p. 30.

<sup>95</sup> *B.S.A.* xxiii. p. 45. I can find no evidence for the statement there made that similar wares were found further west. The sherds from the Vardar all seem utterly different from the black-on-red Dimini ware from Bereketli now in the Ashmolean.

<sup>96</sup> *B.C.H.* 1906, pp. 365 ff., and *Revue Archéologique*, 1901, pp. 328 ff.

<sup>97</sup> *B.C.H.* l.c. Fig. 36.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.* Fig. 64, wrongly described as grey.



style passes over into a black-on-brown style which in turn may give place to a silver-grey-on-black like the second style distinguished by Welch and Blegen from East Macedonia<sup>99</sup>; for on one badly burnt fragment all three styles occur together, and the appearance of two on the same sherd is common.

A glance at the most frequently recurring Bulgarian forms<sup>100</sup> will suffice to show their derivation from the inverted cone type characteristic of the East European series, while typological affinities with more specialised shapes both in Eastern Thessaly and South Russia are not lacking.<sup>101</sup> Equally striking is the complete absence of the distinguishing marks of the Butmir series. Thus there are no sherds with *pointillé* ribbon spirals or pedestalled cups such as characterise the *bothros* stratum of Vinča,<sup>102</sup> and figurines with well-modelled heads are likewise missing.

So, without here going deeper into the details of the East Bulgarian documents, or in any way minimising their marked peculiarities—peculiarities which betoken an individual and probably later local development of civilisation in this area—the above summary will, I hope, justify the assertion that the link between the Pagasean Gulf and the interior of our continent lies to the east of the Balkans and quite outside the province of the Butmir series. That is, Eastern Thessaly belongs to a cultural province which lies definitely east of the Balkans as of the Carpathians.

But that does not absolve us from a consideration of the relations between the painted pottery group as a whole—and including Eastern Thessaly—with the wider group of the *Bandkeramik*; for it is customary to treat the painted wares as a mere subdivision of the latter. Now a series of wares with incised bands of spirals and allied motives is found over a wide area of Central Europe with a somewhat indefinite extension westward and northward. For example, apparently typical sherds are shown from a Bronze Age context in the Vibrata Valley of Italy.<sup>103</sup> The characteristic spheroid bowls with incised spiral motives occur in the lowest strata in Moravia,<sup>104</sup> Bohemia,<sup>105</sup> and West Germany.<sup>106</sup> Similar designs constantly recur in Hungary, and the neolithic wares of Lengyel are generally assigned to this group.<sup>107</sup>

Now at several sites within the ambit of these wares, painted pottery sometimes with spirals does occur—*i. e.* at Tordos, Lengyel, Zsaim (Znojmo) and several other points in Moravia and Lower Austria.<sup>108</sup> At the first-named site we do meet a ware, polished and, sometimes at least, slipped, painted with spirals and other designs in a dull black or red which, judging from Schmidt's description,<sup>109</sup> must belong to our East European group. But the quantity

<sup>99</sup> *B.S.A.* xxiii. p. 44.

<sup>100</sup> *Rev. Arch.* l.c. Figs. 3, 4, 5, and 7.

<sup>101</sup> Cf., e.g., *Rev. Arch.* Fig. 18 with Tsountas, *op. cit.* Pl. XXX. and *ibid.* Fig. 4 with *Trudy*, l.c. Pl. XXVIII. 77.

<sup>102</sup> *B.S.A.* xiv. pp. 319 ff. and Fig. 8.

<sup>103</sup> Peet, *Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy*, p. 401, and Fig. 209. Cf. also Hoernes, *Urgeschichte*, p. 399.

<sup>104</sup> Pallardi, *Die rel. Chronologie der jüng.*

*Steinzeit in Mähren, Wiener prähist. Zeitschrift*, 1914, p. 10, Figs. 8 and 9.

<sup>105</sup> Hoernes, *N.K.O.* Figs. 189–91.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.* Fig. 216.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.* p. 13.

<sup>108</sup> It is convenient to use the words in the sense which they had prior to 1919.

<sup>109</sup> *Zeitsch. für Ethnol.* 1903, p. 448, and Figs. 26–30. (There is one sherd in the Ashmolean Museum.)

picked up was small, only the profiles are recognisable, and the position of the sherds in a deeply stratified site is not recorded. Hence while we may be sure of some sort of extension of the East European culture as far as the valley of the Maros,<sup>110</sup> it throws no light on the relation of that culture to that of the more western area.

At Lengyel, again, the painted sherds are in a minority, and their technique—red or brown on red and red, yellow, or grey on black<sup>111</sup>—is very far removed from the standard among the East European wares. However, the form of the fruit-stand and its spiral ornamentation are reminiscent of that group.<sup>112</sup> Moreover, the position of Lengyel within the *Bandkeramik* is somewhat dubious. Incised bands are entirely absent, but several of the vase forms connect on with Butnir on the one hand<sup>113</sup> and Znaim on the other.<sup>114</sup> Since pearls of copper were found in one grave, this station would seem to belong to a relatively late stage in this series. Moreover, the fortifications, presenting interesting analogies to Erösd, Cucuteni, and Dimini, would point to the late neolithic epoch.<sup>115</sup>

Fortunately we are better informed about the painted pottery of Moravia and Lower Austria. Palliardi<sup>116</sup> has grouped this material into three chronologically consecutive classes. The oldest group, which occurs in connexion with the later style of the incised *Bandkeramik* called *Stichbandkeramik*, is characterised by designs in red or red and yellow on a black, grey, or dark brown ground, generally polished. The colours are easily washed off and the yellow in shade and texture resembles a slip. Spirals and meanders occur among the patterns.<sup>117</sup> This was the characteristic ware of the settlement at Znaim Neustift, and the sherds were in the private collection of the discoverer; their fate since his lamented death is dubious. But from the full account of the material given by the excavator it seems clear that here we have to do with a technique fundamentally different from that prevailing in Eastern Europe.

In the second class we meet a white-on-red style, and also red paint on a light ground. The designs in the former are mainly simple lines, always, however, strongly reminiscent of wicker-work. The sherds from Raigern in the Natural History Museum at Vienna exhibit designs in red made by covering the original red surface with a dusty white paint and then scratching a linear pattern thereon so that the red ground shows through.<sup>118</sup> In the alternative category we sometimes meet patterns reminiscent of the meander, as on some fragments from Gross Weikersdorf,<sup>119</sup> but the red is very dull and matt and

<sup>110</sup> Geographically the passage from the valley of the Alt to that of the Maros would offer no obstacles, and the traffic in Hungarian obsidian may have followed this route like the railways from Buda-Pest to Kronstadt (Brasso).

<sup>111</sup> Wosinski, *Die prähistorische Schanzwerk von Lengyel*, Vol. III. and von Stern, *op. cit.* p. 75.

<sup>112</sup> The most accessible illustration is in Hoernes, *N.K.O.* Fig. 18, but Wosinsky gives two colour plates in *Tolnavármegye Története*, I. p. 134, Pls. XXXIV. and XXXV.

<sup>113</sup> Hoernes, *l.c.* p. 14.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.* p. 81; the comparison between the ladles pierced horizontally. Fig. 208, and the square vases with four holes, Figs. 22 and 212, are striking.

<sup>115</sup> *Vide* Hoernes, *l.c.* p. 33.

<sup>116</sup> *Relative Chronologie*, pp. 9 f.

<sup>117</sup> *Mitt. prak. Comm. Wien*, 1897. 243, and Pl. IV., esp. No. 11.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.* p. 248 and Pl. V. 7.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.* Pl. V. 6. The sherds are at Vienna.

the ware is unslipped. Neither of these techniques belong to East Europe, though they show analogies with Lengyel.

In the latest class of painted fabrics we find only bands, arcs, and meanders in thin white on a dark clay ground sometimes polished with graphite. The discovery of a copper ring in association with this pottery at Strélice II.<sup>120</sup> links it on to the borders of the 'late neolithic' or chalcolithic epoch, in which pottery resembling the lake-dwelling types, Hoernes' 'tectonic style,' comes in. Possibly the Bohemian painted pottery belongs here. There are found vessels with incised designs of spirals and ribbons of points (*Stichbände*) which have been subsequently adorned with painted spirals, apparently in grey and black. The biscuit is a dark ash colour. The usual form is the spheroidal bowl belonging to the earlier phases of the peripherally ornamented pottery,<sup>121</sup> and would indicate an early date.

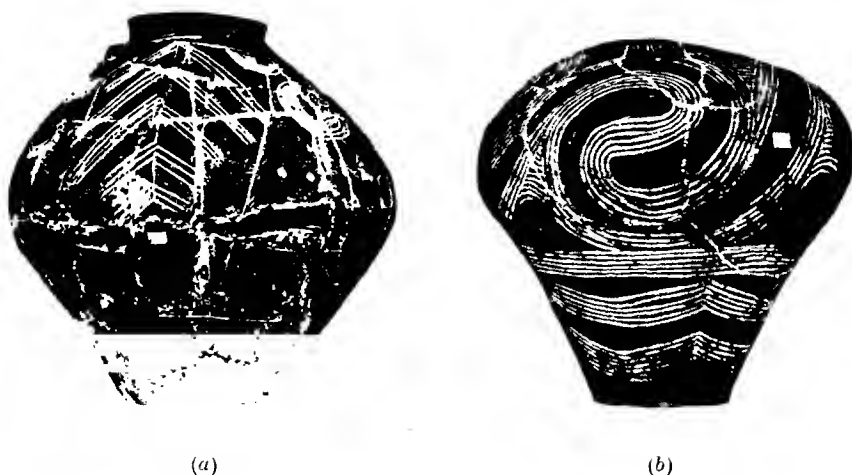


FIG. 14.—INCISED POTTERY FROM THE DNEPR REGION: *a*, CULTURE B; *b*, CULTURE A.

Now it is clear that none of these wares belong to the East European series; but we have not dealt with them at such length simply to reject them; for there are, in fact, many points of resemblance between the Moravian finds in particular and those of Priesterhügel. There, for instance, beside the typical polychrome ware, we find sherds with designs in black and yellowish-white on a grey clay, and more simple white lines on a polished black or grey surface.<sup>122</sup> Again, both at Znaim and Priesterhügel, we find peculiar steatopygeous figurines, modelled separately in two longitudinal sections which are subsequently put together.<sup>123</sup> All this points unmistakably to some sort of contact between Transylvania and Moravia. But Priesterhügel was a deeply

<sup>120</sup> Palliardi, *Rel. Chronologie*, p. 11.

<sup>121</sup> Cf. Jira, *Mannus*, iii. pp. 238 ff. and plates. This excavator mentions the presence of a red colour on the sherds, but other Czech archaeologists deny this, and I certainly could detect no trace of it on

the examples in the National Museum at Prague.

<sup>122</sup> *Mitt. Anthropol. Gesell. Wien*, xxx Pl. VI. 13, and *Mitt. prah. Comm. Wien*, 1903, Figs. 80-4.

<sup>123</sup> Hoernes, *N.K.O.* p. 81.

stratified site, and the only indication of sequence is the statement of Teutch, that the painted wares and the best figurines came from the lower layers, the pottery subsequently showing a progressive degeneration as at Butmir.<sup>124</sup> Such a site, therefore, does not provide reliable data for fixing the relations between the eastern and western painted groups. Though it occupies in more senses than one an eccentric position in the East European group, the inspiration of its red pottery seems so strongly to derive from the latter that it is hardly likely that we shall find here or in this district a centre where that pottery was differentiated from the western and from which the new style radiated. On the other hand, the quite primitive context of the Moravian and Bohemian painted fabrics make the converse yet more improbable.

Turning now to the East European culture, it is equally difficult there to find any fixed and secure points of contact with the west. A good deal of incised pottery more or less reminiscent of the Butmir material, but without the typical *pointillé* ribbons, has been found with the painted wares. In the Kiev Government this was actually in the majority. Some of the big bowls



FIG. 15.—SINGLE AND DOUBLE STANDS FROM CULTURE A ON THE DNIÉPR.

from Chwoiko's Culture A do resemble rather closely similar pear-shaped jars from Butmir.<sup>125</sup> But Culture A is to be regarded as a later development of Culture B, and in the latter the resemblances are much fainter (Fig. 14). The incised decoration shows no relation to that of Butmir,<sup>126</sup> but its simple patterns preserve reminiscences of naturalism. On the contrary, as Hoernes has himself forecasted,<sup>127</sup> the East European pottery as a whole shows closer affinities with his tectonic style (*Rahmenstil*), which in Central Europe succeeds the peripheral style of Butmir, Bohemia, and Germany, and is associated with the cultural modifications accompanying the beginning of the chalcolithic stage. Thus in the wares of Petreny and Priesterhügel, we have, as already remarked, traces of that dissolution of the spiral into concentric circles, circles united by tangential bands, those stars, crosses in circles, and toothed lines which this eminent authority has described as distinctive of the tectonic style.<sup>128</sup> The progress in handle-building, especially in the extreme case cited from Galicia, points in the same direction.<sup>129</sup> So, too, do the pastoral habits of the East Europeans and their preference for hill sites sometimes walled; for the users

<sup>124</sup> *Mitt.* l.c.

<sup>125</sup> Cf. *Trudy*, l.c. Tabl. XXVI. 31, with Hoernes, *Prim. Ceram.* Fig. 4.

<sup>126</sup> *Supra*, p. 269, and note 92.

<sup>127</sup> *Urgeschichte*, p. 306.

<sup>128</sup> *N.K.O.* pp. 25 and 32.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, *Vide supra*, p. 260.

of *Bandkeramik* and other peripheral styles were merely hunters and agriculturists, and generally occupied caves or unprotected settlements in the plains.<sup>130</sup> To this extent the East European culture looks late in comparison with that of the Central European *Bandkeramik*, but does not mean much more than saying that of two points in two distinct but parallel series, one is later than the other.

If then we must account for the analogies between the East European pottery and that of the Butmir series, I would suggest a common origin, possibly in a pre-ceramic stage of culture.<sup>131</sup> The typical forms of each series may be referred to a single ground type—a spheroid or hemispherical bowl—made or certainly deriving from the gourd<sup>132</sup> or plaited fabric.<sup>133</sup> This evolved differently in each area. In the east it acquired a base by flattening and took on a conical form, to which I have attached the manifold shapes of this ceramic group. In the west the main line of development was due to the ring support, originally distinct. The latter, fusing into the original spheroid bowl, becomes a foot, giving us the vases of Butmir, Plate VI., and ultimately the famous pedestalled cups of Butmir, Lengyel, Zsaim, Troppau, etc.<sup>134</sup> In the east the ring support developed independently, growing into the fruit-stand and the binocular vase,<sup>135</sup> and only occasionally coalescing with the vessel it was designed to support<sup>136</sup> (Fig. 15). But the separation must have been early, and the divergent character of the subsequent progress is marked by the contrast between the black-faced technique of Central Europe and the red-faced pottery of the east. The latter, on the principles laid down by Myres, requires the sort of dry climate only to be found east of the Carpathians.<sup>137</sup> And it was here, too, doubtless that the adoption of a partially pastoral *régime* to supplement the simple economy of hunting, fishing, and agriculture, that was exclusively practised in Central Europe till the last sub-neolithic phase of the Stone Age, took place.

We have, then, established the independence of the East European neolithic culture and its painted pottery from that of Central Europe. So, having eliminated possible rivals, we may confidently assert, on the strength of the chain of evidence adduced above, that the intrusive culture of Dimini

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, cf. also *Prim. Céram.*, pp. 23–5. The further consequences to be arrived at from a development of this dissociation of the whole painted series from the realm of the peripheral style would lead to most interesting ethnological results.

<sup>131</sup> *I. e.* venturing on ethnological terms that both were branches of the Mediterranean race. That would retain the connection with the still more widely distributed range of female figurines.

<sup>132</sup> Schuchhardt, *Die technischen Elemente in dem Anfang der Kunst, Prähist. Zeitschr.* I.

<sup>133</sup> Wilke, *op. cit.*, makes out a strong case for this alternative.

<sup>134</sup> Hoernes, *Die Fortentwicklung der prahistor. Tongefässe, Jahrbuch für Alter-*

*tumskunde*, 1911, pp. 2 ff., gives many examples.

<sup>135</sup> In South Russia these vessels are open at each end. The examples in *Trudy*, Pl. XXVI. Nos. 20 and 21, show the relation of the double stand to the simple form.

<sup>136</sup> This occurs with the binocular vases at Szepienitz and with the already specialised bowl at Dimini and Sesklo.

<sup>137</sup> *J.A.I.* xxxiii. Note especially the map on p. 370; but our red-faced wares occur still in an area of fairly heavy rainfall, and, as von Stern points out, the South Russian plains must have been more heavily wooded in neolithic times than to-day.

and Sesklo is derived from the former area. In fact it marks an invasion by the peoples of that region. But unfortunately we cannot trace the invaders to any particular point within that area, nor can we equate the date of the movement with any fixed point in the evolution of the East European culture.

Certainly we have as yet no data for assigning to the invaders ethnological or linguistic appellations, but otherwise we must accept Schmidt's invasion theory as far as Thessaly is concerned.<sup>138</sup> But when he seeks to bring his invaders to Crete we must halt. Far from constituting a 'bridge between Crete and the Danube-Balkan region,'<sup>139</sup> Eastern Thessaly seems to be a *cul-de-sac* where the southward movement terminated abruptly, surrounded with quite alien cultures which it never, on the pottery evidence, broke through or overcame.<sup>140</sup>

V. GORDON CHILDE.

#### ADDENDUM

Since the above was sent to the press, I have had the opportunity of examining personally the Moravian material in the Palliardi Collection at Mährisch Budwitz (Moravské Budějovice) and the pottery from Lengyel at Szekszard. I can now state definitely that the technique of painting in both these groups is entirely different from that which ruled in Eastern Europe. In Moravia the paint appears as a thick matt crust and was probably applied after the burning and polishing of the vase. Though the paint is not so thick at Lengyel and, on one or two sherds, shows traces of polishing, it is likely that the same process was adopted there. In the oldest painted ware of Moravia and in the majority of the Lengyel material, the biscuit is grey-black with a polished black surface to which the colour was applied. Some of the older Moravian red painted pottery is scarcely distinguishable from sherds of the "matt painted" ware from the middle strata at Vinča in Serbia (*B.S.A.*, xiv. pp. 319 ff.) which in turn is identified with the "crusted ware" of Thessaly III. (*Präh. Zeitschr.*, iii. p. 127). Moreover, both in Moravia and Lengyel, we meet large open bowls recalling, both in shape and decoration, the *Py* vases from Rakhmani III. (Wace and Thompson, *Pls.* IV. 4 and VI.). Further, in Moravia and Hungary as in Serbia obsidian appears for the first time in association with this crusted ware. All this suggests that the Znaim-Lengyel group connects through Serbia with Thessaly III. and is therefore to be assigned to a later context than Dimini ware. Similarly the stratification at Vinča would make it later than the *floruit* of Butmir and more or less contemporary with the Bulgarian finds of Seure and Degrand and Popov. The latter themselves cannot well be older than the latest phases of the East European painted pottery. Hence the independence of the latter would be confirmed by chronological considerations. V. G. C.

<sup>138</sup> The material from East Bulgaria must be ascribed to a section of the invaders left behind in this movement, and would for the most part represent a later stage in their development than Thessaly II.

<sup>139</sup> *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.* l.c. p. 601.

<sup>140</sup> But if it is really East Thessalian polychrome ware (B 3 β) that has been found below the lowest Early Helladic sherds at Gonia, as Blegen states (*Korakou*, p. 123), it will be necessary entirely to revise our views on this question.

## NOTICES OF BOOKS

Sardis. Vol. I.—The Excavations. Part 1. 1910–1914. By HOWARD CROSBY BUTLER. Pp. 213, 5 plates, 3 maps. Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1922.

A handsome and finely illustrated large quarto is this volume, in which the process of uncovering the great Sardinian Artemision is narrated season by season from 1910 to 1914. It is prefaced by a sketch of the history of Sardes (in which a Hattic occupation of the site is, perhaps, taken too much for granted); an excursus on the actual topography; an account of previous explorations, which contains interesting information about the "raids" made in the 'eighties by Dennis and Spiegelthal on both the Artemision and the Bin Tepé necropolis; a catalogue of the few objects known or supposed to be Lydian before the American search; and a general description of Sardis and its neighbourhood. Incidentally we are told that, in the course of occasional delving in the Pactolus bed, the Americans found alluvial gold to the amount of about an ounce.

Apart from its introductory matter, Professor Butler's volume is, in the main, a reissue of his preliminary reports, which appeared regularly after the close of each successive season in the *American Journal of Archaeology*; but they have been revised in the light of one another, and the knowledge of 1914 now supplements the account of the tentative efforts made in 1910. Such a narrative of progressive revelation is, of course, of most interest to the excavators themselves and to their patrons, but it will be found not uninteresting by all excavators. The work was evidently done with the maximum of method and with the utmost patience and care; and fortunately both funds and time were adequate to the application and maintenance of thoroughly scientific methods upon a site of great depth and difficulty. The volume ends with short chapters about the great sarcophagus of 'Sidamara' type found out in the northern plain, about a late painted tomb chamber in the same region, about an attempt made to explore further the Bin Tepé necropolis (valuable, as illustrating and confirming the reports of Dennis and Spiegelthal), and about the geology of the Sardis district. It does not modify the scheme for publication in a series of specialist volumes, which has long been advertised and indeed already has appeared in part: in fact, this volume is just an introduction to that series. It gives us, in each category of discoveries, a forecast of the final publication, and we must still wait for the succeeding volumes in order to learn the full data and the definite conclusions drawn from these by the excavating staff and their specialist referees. Unfortunately, we are warned that the War and certain untoward events since have led to the disappearance of some of the material available in 1914, and consequently, that two at least of the promised specialist parts will not be able to be issued until further excavation has been made and fresh evidence collected. The chief losses have been in ceramics—losses much to be regretted; for the revelation of Lydian pot-fabrics, made by the American exploration of the Sardinian cemeteries of the eighth to the fourth centuries, was as important as any that resulted from this very fruitful exploration. Such losses, however, can readily be replaced in another season or so. Not so one loss which Professor Butler has to record, that of the splendid horse's head found in the last hours of the season of 1914, and since stolen from the Expedition House. Even this may turn up in some collection on one side of the Atlantic or the other. In any case, losses will not be all loss, if the desire to repair them adds cogency to Professor Butler's insistence upon the necessity of resuming work at Sardis at the first possible moment; for not only has he to find that shrine of Zeus, which appears to have stood in the same Precinct as the Artemision (since perhaps it was buried the earlier and the more completely, it may contain less disturbed strata), but also somehow somewhere the antecedents of the eighth-century

Lydian culture have to be investigated. The rich furniture of the earliest Lydian tombs, opened by the Americans—furniture which fully justifies the Greek idea of Sardis as the home of opulence and luxury—implies a pedigree of culture going back a long way to its source in barbarism.

Since there has been a long interruption of the American excavations, and their resumption is still in doubt, a summary catalogue of their chief results may not be out of place at the present moment. (1) They have recovered all that survived in the ground of the best preserved of the greater pre-Hellenistic Ionic temples; from the architectural remains can be deduced the constructional history of the building, and from the epigraphic remains a fair idea of its cult practice, especially in the Roman age. (2) They have established that in the near neighbourhood of this temple of the Mother Goddess, called by the Lydians Artemis, there is to be found a temple of the Father, the Zeus of Greeks, and probably the Tausas Hudans of a local Lydian inscription. (3) From tombs and remains of houses with painted balustrades, as well as from specimens of Lydian epigraphy, they show us for the first time what Lydian culture of the Mernnad and the Persian periods amounted to, and they open new fields of inquiry into its relation to the Ionian and the Etruscan cultures on the one hand, and to the inland Asiatic on the other. (4) They have put at the disposal of linguists a corpus of complete and legible texts in the Lydian language, two of these being bilingual, and thus have brought that language at last out of the neglect and obscurity in which it has lain since Hellenistic times. (5) They have exposed one of the longest and most important epigraphic documents of Hellenistic commercial law which has come down to us, and a number of notable inscriptions of the Imperial age. (6) They have supplied evidence of a Lydian style in sculpture, and added to our plastic treasures some fine Greek work, and, among many notable Græco-Roman things, one piece of singular importance, the great 'Sidamara' sarcophagus already mentioned (it has been seriously damaged since discovery). (7) A very early church in good preservation and a painted tomb of much the same age has to be reckoned to their credit. Other gains to knowledge in the fields of numismatics, of glyptics, of metallurgies might be added; but the catalogue is already long enough to show that Professor Butler has reaped already a harvest of the first quality, and that the sooner he and his helpers can put their sickles into that cornfield again, the better for science.

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Since the above notice was written, the untimely death of Professor Butler on his way home from a visit to Sardis, has thrown upon others the completion of his great enterprise. May they follow his example in applying that method and care which made his success! They can raise no better monument to his memory.

D. G. H.

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**The Greek Theater of the Fifth Century before Christ.** By JAMES TURNER ALLEN. Pp. vi + 119. University of California Publications in Classical Philology, Vol. VII. Berkeley: University of California, 1919.

This book falls into eight chapters. The introductory chapter explains the scheme of the book, which is to begin with a brief account of the fourth-century theatre; then to turn back to the fifth-century theatre and to show that the remains of the fourth-century theatre afford a key for the reconstruction of certain features of the earlier; next to examine the literary evidence and to criticise various theories which have been proposed; lastly, to discuss the origin of the *proskenion*—which the author considers 'a problem of basic importance' (p. 107)—and to 'propose as a reasonable hypothesis that the *proskenion* was in point of origin the *skene* itself of the Aeschylean theater' (p. 7).

With regard to the account of the fourth-century theatre which occupies chapter ii, we need only note that the author will have nothing to do with a stage. 'The assumption of a stage in the fourth century, as also in the fifth, is supported only by a series of unconvincing hypotheses, and will not, I believe, be able much longer to weather the storm of criticism which it has provoked' (p. 13). His own view of the *proskenion* is

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that 'it was a simple colonnade with a flat, or nearly flat, roof, and the spaces between its columns would be closed by means of wooden panels (*πίνακες*) or left open in accordance with the varying scenic requirements. But the material of the entire structure was wood' (p. 15).

Chapter iii, on 'The Theater of the Fifth Century,' introduces what is the central theory of the book. Dörpfeld in the winter of 1885-86 discovered beneath the inner end of the eastern parodos of the fourth-century, or Lycurgean theatre, a curvilinear cutting in the bedrock, and underneath the ruins of the scene-building two portions of an ancient retaining wall. From the larger of these portions, which forms a circular arc, Dörpfeld calculated that it belonged to a circle of about 78 feet 9 inches diameter. When the circle thus indicated was described, it was found not only to include the second piece of wall, but also to pass over the cutting in the rock. Hence Dörpfeld inferred that there had anciently existed here a wall enclosing a circular space, in which he proposed to recognise the orchestra of the early fifth-century theatre. Now the orchestra of the Lycurgean theatre had a diameter of only 64 feet 4 inches. Mr. Allen proposes to account for this decrease in size by supposing that the Aeschylean scene-building (as required, *e. g.* by the Oresteian trilogy of 458 B.C.) was erected not immediately *behind* the orchestra, as Dörpfeld supposed, but *on* it, and that the reduced measurement thus caused was copied in the Lycurgean theatre. As Mr. Allen puts it, 'if the front portion of the Lycurgean scene-building together with the orchestra-circle, the diameter of which is determined by the inner boundary of the gutter, be superimposed upon a circle of the exact size of the orchestra-terrace in such a manner that the corners of the *paraskenia* nearest the orchestra coincide exactly with the inner edge of the retaining wall, then the wall at the rear of the *paraskenia* and connecting them rests upon the retaining wall of the terrace at its southernmost point; and furthermore, the circle of the fourth-century orchestra falls just within the inner periphery of the larger circle at its northernmost point. Again, if a line be drawn between the *paraskenia* and at the same distance back from their front line as the Hellenistic *proskenion* stood back of the Hellenistic *paraskenia*, . . . this line is an exact chord of the outermost circle of the old terrace-wall' (p. 31).

The remaining chapters of the book develop the author's views on the nature of the scene-building which thus occupied part of the orchestra-terrace in the fifth century. Chapter iv is a judicious discussion of the evidence afforded by the extant dramas. Chapter v discusses 'Changes of Setting,' and chapter vi various theories as to how those changes were effected. Chapter vii considers and rejects the arguments in favour of the hypothesis that a projecting *prothyron* or columned porch sometimes formed a feature of the scene-building. Finally, in chapter viii the author presents his own theory of the origin of the *proskenion*. As we have seen, the author does not believe in any sort of stage, high or low, for the fifth-century theatre. And considerations of space among other things make him reject the theory that the *proskenion* was a decorative screen placed in front of the *skene*. He concludes, then, that the *proskenion* was, in fact, in origin the scene-building itself. And it was called *proskenion*, he believes, not because it was placed 'before the *skene*,' but because it constituted the front portion, when the scene-building had become an imposing edifice, the rearward portion being two-storied and the roof of the original *skene* being used as a platform.

It is impossible in our space either to do justice to Mr. Allen's arguments or to discuss them in any detail. Criticisms, of course, occur to one. Thus we are not at all convinced that the anti-stage party have successfully demolished the arguments in favour of a stage drawn from the use of *ἀναβαίνω*, *καταβαίνω*, *ἐπαραβαίνω* in Aristophanes, still less that they have accounted for what must have been an extraordinary perversity of conservatism on the part of the Athenians if they did not at quite an early date avail themselves of the obvious advantages of a stage. But the book constitutes an acute and vigorous piece of argument, and can be heartily commended to the notice of all who are interested in the Greek theatre. An admirable feature of the work is the series of brief bibliographies prefixed to individual chapters.

A. W. M.

**Das Christentum im Kampf und Ausgleich mit der griechisch-römischen Welt.** Studien und Charakteristiken aus seiner Werdezeit. By JOHANNES GEFFCKEN. Dritte völlig umgearbeitete Auflage. (= *Aus Natur und Geisteswelt*, 54 Bändchen.) Pp. 130. Leipzig: Teubner, 1920.

In Germany of recent years there has been produced a number of excellent little books on early Christianity and the culture of the Greco-Roman world during the first centuries of our era. We need in English such books as A. Bauer's *Vom Griechentum zum Christentum* (Leipzig: Quelle and Meyer, 1910), and *Vom Judentum zum Christentum* (ibid. 1917), or von Soden's *Die Entstehung der christlichen Kirche*, and *Vom Urchristentum zum Katholizismus* (Teubner, 1919).<sup>1</sup> Recently Johannes Geffcken by the side of his admirable work *Der Ausgang des griechisch-römischen Heidentums* (= *Religionswissenschaftliche Bibliothek herausgegeben von Wilhelm Streuberg*: Bd. VI. Heidelberg: Winter, 1920) has published a third edition of his *Aus der Werdezeit des Christentums* (2nd ed., 1909) under the title quoted above. The little book has been recast and largely rewritten. Some idea of its scope may perhaps best be given by transcribing the headings of its four main sections: I. *Die religiös-philosophische Kultur der griechisch-römischen Welt beim Eintritt des Christentums*,<sup>2</sup> II. *Die Stellung des alten Christentums zu den anderen Religionen*. III. *Die literarischen Kämpfe mit den Griechen und Römern*. IV. *Die äusseren Verfolgungen*. Those who are familiar with Geffcken's many studies on early Christian literature and the criticisms of those studies by such scholars as Harnack and Delehaye<sup>3</sup> will realise that the book is not without its controversial side, but it is written in no polemical spirit, and Geffcken, as he himself says, has sought to avoid anything which might injure the feelings of members of other branches of the Church. This is not the place for any detailed review of Geffcken's conclusions, but it is of importance to accentuate the significance of books like this, written for the general public, but based upon a first-hand acquaintance with the literature not only of early Christianity, but also of contemporary pagan philosophy. The S.P.C.K. is doing admirable service by its series of translations of Christian classics, but these translations must be supplemented by studies of the thought-world of the early Church, and these must be written by our best scholars: only the best scholarship is good enough for this work of popularisation. Who will give us the text-book on Origen that we need,<sup>4</sup> or a study of the influence of pagan cult upon Christian worship?<sup>5</sup>

NORMAN H. BAYNES.

**Bibliotheca philologica classica.** Beilage zum Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft. Bd. XLV. 1918. Gesammelt und herausgegeben von FRANZ ZIMMERMANN. Pp. 208 + Inhaltsverzeichnis. Leipzig: Reissland, 1921. 10s.

It is a matter for sincere congratulation that publication of this Bibliography has been resumed; to it all classical scholars naturally resort. The present volume includes the whole of the year 1918. The parts issued during the war, in which the art of bibliography sank to its lowest level, can now be buried in oblivion. Herr Zimmermann has once more restored the standard for which we look in the Bursian bibliographies. I have worked carefully through the whole of this volume, and its accuracy of citation is exemplary; faults are extremely few: thus Pickard on p. 17 should be Pickard-Cambridge, on pp. 35

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Ernst Lohmeyer: *Christuskult und Kaiserkult* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1919); and J. Geffcken: *Der Ausgang der Antike* (Berlin: Mittler, 1921); in France, Charles Guignebert: *Le Christianisme antique* (Paris: Flammarion, 1921).

<sup>2</sup> This section carries on the development sketched in J. Geffcken: *Griechische Menschen* (Quelle and Meyer, 1919).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. e. g. H. Delehaye: *Les Passions des Martyrs* (Bruxelles, 1921), pp. 156 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Guido de Ruggiero: *Storia della Filosofia*; *Parte Seconda. La Filosofia del Cristianesimo* (Bari: Laterza e Figli, 1920, 3 vols.).

<sup>5</sup> For the kind of work of which I am thinking cf. Shirley Jackson Case: *The Evolution of Early Christianity; a Genetic Study of First-Century Christianity in relation to its Religious Environment* (University of Chicago Press, 1917).

and 93 there is a confusion between Procopius of Caesarea and Procopius of Gaza. It can only be hoped that the bibliography of the intervening years 1919-1921 will appear shortly. We owe a very real debt of gratitude to Herr Zimmermann.

N. H. B.

**Ancient Greece.** A study by STANLEY CASSON. Pp. 96, 12 illustrations. Oxford: The University Press, 1922. 2s. 6d.

Mr. Casson's little book is an "œuvre de vulgarisation," a sketch of the salient points of Greek culture that will be interesting and useful to older schoolboys and to undergraduates as well as to those of riper years who are more or less uninstructed in classical lore and desire to know more of the ancient civilization that is held up to them as still worthy of study and imitation even by the self-sufficient and self-satisfied modern world. Such readers will not be too critical, and will not demand from Mr. Casson too many reasons for the faith that is in him. We hasten to add that we are at one with Mr. Casson in his aim, which is a highly laudable one; we sympathise wholly with him in his desire to break a lance for the cause of Greek studies. But we feel that he makes out too favourable a case for Greece except at the end of his book, when he discusses the reasons for the lamentable collapse and failure of the fourth century. He stresses the good side and slurs over the bad. His Greeks of the sixth and fifth centuries are too much like those Greeks of the Commencement orator, who 'lived beautifully in the proud consciousness of existing in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.' They are too much the conventional Greeks of the schoolmaster and the sculptor. We get no hint of the real Mediterranean character of the race. Mr. Casson's hero is Achilles rather than Odysseus. To me Odysseus is the real Greek: Achilles might be a Goth.

The preference for the Nordic rather than the Mediterranean characteristics of the race which Mr. Casson's book shows is reactionary in that it marks a return to the older view of the Greeks as the only really civilized people of their time, in a world of foolish Scyths and gibbering black men. It is true that we can understand them, because we are bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh, because, in spite of Semitic religion, we are their heirs, our civilization is Greek in spite of ourselves. Egypt and Chaldaea are alien to us, Greece is not. Perhaps this is all that Mr. Casson desires to emphasize, but it makes him unjust to what he calls the 'static' civilizations, and also to the culture-ancestors of the Greeks and ourselves, the 'Mediterranean' Aegeans and Minoans. To relegate Minoan art and culture to the same category as that of Egypt or of Babylonia, as Mr. Casson does, seems to me an error. We know nothing of the prehistoric polity of Greece beyond the intimations of Greek tradition, and in them we see nothing un-Greek. The heroic king was Greek enough. And if Mr. Casson can see nothing Greek in Minoan art he has not eyes to see. Probably it needs some familiarity with Egyptian or other ancient oriental art to perceive the Greek element in Minoan art, to see the subtle difference between it and the arts of the 'static' cultures, to discern in it the first stirrings of Greek truth and freedom. I do not believe in the over-emphasis of the 'Dark Age' between the culture of the Bronze Age and that of the Iron Age in Greece, any more than I believe in the over-emphasis of the Dark Age between Roman civilization and our own. In both cases continuity existed; in the case of Greece probably in Ionia. To say, as Mr. Casson does, that Minoan civilization 'had nothing in common with that of the Greece of the thousand years after 1000 B.C.,' or that in it we do not find fully developed art in the sense of 'free art,' is not true. 'Highly developed craftsmanship,' he says, 'is there, and a capacity for design and form, but artistic creations untrammelled by convention, such as were conceived by Classical Greece within a century of the commencement of artistic production, we do not find.' We join issue: what a difference there is to be seen between the really highly developed craftsmanship of the Egyptian and the free artistic creations, untrammelled by convention (though often marred by crudity of technique and execution, at any rate in the case of the wall-paintings), of the Minoan! Can Mr. Casson look at the ivory leaper of Knossos or the tramping peasants of the Harvester-Vase and hold to his contention? And in his next paragraph he confesses that Minoan art 'laid the foundations of an artistic tradition which the invasions and disturbances of subsequent times could not eradicate.' He allows that, 'the new art of

Classical Greece found itself active in a region where the elements of art were not unknown,' but then adds, 'though we are hardly entitled to infer from this a continuity of artistic tradition.' Are we not? Is not the technique and art of the Greek vase-painters the same as that of the Mycenaean? And what can be more Greek in feeling than the figures of the king and the warrior on the 'Chieftain Vase'?

Whether we forgive him for his injustice to the Minoans or not, we must, we suppose, find excuses for his injustices to the *βάρβαροι*. The Greek scholar usually either has not the time or will not take the trouble to try and understand them. But the well-worn depreciatory references to the 'static' civilizations merely beg the question. It is true that mentally the Greek of the fifth century was enormously superior to the Egyptian or Asiatic: as superior as we are to them now. But they had and have their virtues, and it is not necessary to butcher them anew to make a Philhellenie holiday. Still, Mr. Casson has his thesis, which is to exalt the Greek, and we who love the ancient Greek as much as he does, and believe that everything should be done by all to prevent the danger of the knowledge and appreciation of Greek culture dying down in the world, must allow him to have his fling at the barbarians.

Perhaps Mr. Casson is happier in dealing with history and politics than with Minoan archaeology and art or with Greek ethics. Of the latter he gives us a conventional white-washing view. On political matters, however, he is interesting, and, we think, will interest his audience. The possible reasons for the collapse of Greek civilization in the fourth and later centuries B.C. are set forth with effect. Malaria hardly seems possible till Roman days. The desiccation theory seems to attract Mr. Casson; but we do not think that Prof. Ellsworth Huntington's interesting theory commands universal adherence among oriental students, and it should not be taken as proved. The stupidity of the Greeks in killing off all their best stock in their petty inter-tribal wars, and the resulting admixture with foreigners, seems, as Mr. Casson perhaps thinks, to be the most satisfactory explanation.

We must be permitted a word of objection to the chart at the end of the book representing 'Cultural Areas of the Greek World and its Neighbours.' To what precise moment of time is this chart supposed to refer? The line bounding the Egyptian sphere of influence is extended towards Crete, but not towards Cyprus, which in Minoan days was closely connected with Egypt, as we know from the discoveries at Enkomi, and at the Herodotean 'moment of time' was directly subject to Egyptian political as well as artistic domination. Nor does it include Phoenicia, which we know was from early days almost an outlying province of Egypt: the subjection of Phoenicia and the Shephelah to the Thothmesids has been a commonplace of ancient history for decades, quite apart from the recent discoveries of M. Montet at Byblos, which have shown us that that city was practically an Egyptian colony even in the time of the Old Kingdom. Then the Hellenic line of demarcation does not include the oversea colonies except in Italy and Sicily, and does not extend far enough north in Italy so as to overlap the Etruscan line, which it should do: Etruscan art was merely a copy of Greek. And in Asia Minor we have the following list of names, "Lydia, Hittite Empire, Persia, Assyria," in this order, which is certainly not the historical order. To include Assyria at all is doubtful procedure, since it is very uncertain, in spite of some recent theories, if the Assyrians ever got further west than Cilicia, and there only for a moment. If Mr. Casson is referring to cultural influence only, he should surely speak of Babylonia, not Assyria, and Persian influence in Asia Minor was purely political and had no effect on culture. It is to be hoped that this chart, which is very misleading, will be revised, and dates inserted, in a second edition.

H. H.

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**Der Fries des Megarons von Mykenai.** By GERHART RODENWALDT. Pp. 72, 30 illustrations in text, 5 plates. Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1922.

Round the walls of the Megaron at Mycenae, probably covering a length of forty-six metres, ran a frieze of painted plaster, the remains of which are the most notable outside Crete. A considerable number of pieces, representing a fight and preparations for a fight, were discovered by Tsountas in 1886, later discussed by Rodenwaldt and others. But fragments

such as these, often burnt out of recognition, have a habit of eluding the archaeologist, for besides those which came to light during the German investigations in 1914, others were discovered during the excavations of the British School in 1921 (*Times Lit. Sup.*, Oct. 1921). The fragments found in 1914 introduced an entirely new element, a complicated piece of architecture with ladies at the windows, and, above, part of the fight. It is their publication which occasions this book.

Combining, as far as is possible, the old pieces with the new, and taking into account the relation in which they were found, Dr. Rodenwaldt is able to trace the frieze round the west and north walls: the camp, the fight, and the besieged castle. This part of the work is admirable.

The old pieces, some of which appeared in the *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική*, others in the *Athenische Mitteilungen*, are here for the first time collected and published together, but only with a view to their reconstruction. We have still to refer back to these two papers for adequate description and illustration, and this when the title of the book leads us to expect what we so greatly need, a complete publication of the frieze. It would have been a comparatively easy matter to provide serviceable illustrations, since these are already in existence, and briefly to give the necessary particulars concerning each fragment. Not only was the opportunity, but also the space at hand, for the chapter dealing with the actual frieze takes only one-third of the book, about twenty-five pages.

Of the remaining two-thirds, twenty pages are occupied with an essay on Cretan civilisation and fresco painting. We have long wished to hear Dr. Rodenwaldt's ideas on Cretan fresco, but this is hardly the place. Another fifteen deal with the mainland culture in relation to our frieze, but more with the former than with the latter; for besides the date and style of the fresco, they touch on questions of race and religion, architecture, the Homeric poems, and certain aspects of Egyptian art. To quote one example of the tendency to digression: on the strength of a resemblance between the Abu Simbel relief of the Battle at Kadesh and the Mycenae fragments, three pages are devoted to discussing whether this form of Egyptian art was influenced by Crete: in the end, the author is inclined to think it was not.

So much for the general form and contents of the book. With regard to particular points:

The controversial question is the date of the Mycenae frescoes. Dr. Rodenwaldt, on grounds of style, assigns them to L.M. I., whereas the excavations of the British School have practically proved that the Megaron was not yet built in that period. Can stylistic evidence be considered conclusive? The elements Dr. Rodenwaldt considers early are:

(i) Fineness of technique. How fine, the burnt condition of the pieces prevents us judging; the only certain inference is that they are distinctly earlier than the second period at Tiryns (later half of L.M. III.).

(ii) Composition, *i. e.*, the free and pictorial arrangement of figures similar to that of the Cretan frescoes of L.M. I. Here, however, we are faced with the difficulty that we do not know how long this manner lasted. It may well have been still in use at the beginning of L.M. III., though we know it had ceased to be by the time of the second period at Tiryns. The resemblance of the Megaron fragments to Cretan art of the L.M. I. period is certainly overrated.

On p. 69, among the notes, will be found a list of all the more important bits of fresco found at Mycenae before 1920. This is invaluable, both as a record and as a foundation for future work: we would gladly see it expanded at the expense of some of the other notes. For purposes of identification, it would have been a help if the author had stated which fragments came from Tsoundas' excavations and which from Schliemann's.

We note that, on p. 9, the 'Saffron Gatherer' fresco is attributed, owing to the style of its details, to the same period as the Knossos Miniature fresco and the 'Cat and Bird' from Hagia Triada. No attempt is, however, made to dispose of the more serious arguments for assigning it to M.M. II., or at latest to M.M. III. Is not this but another proof of the arbitrary nature of stylistic evidence?

Of the illustrations, those in the text include two reproductions of the new fragments, one, part of a chariot and horses, the other, a falling warrior. At the end of the book is an excellent coloured facsimile of the new architectural fragments by Gilliéron (scale

not given); there are also line-drawings giving the reconstruction of both the old and the new fragments. These are the most unsatisfactory part of the book, not in conception, for they are often both suggestive and convincing, but in execution. Their effect is so un-Mycenaean as, in some cases, to recall the decadent type of black-figure vase-painting.

The book will, perhaps, have a wider appeal with its varied contents than if it had kept to its stated subject. Those specially interested in prehistoric painting may be over-critical because disappointed in the hope of a complete publication by the greatest authority on mainland fresco; for the valuable work done, most of all for the discovery and publication of the new fragments, they are much indebted.

W. L.

**Platon : Oeuvres Complètes.** Tome I : Introduction—Hippias Mineur—Alcibiade—Apologie de Socrate—Euthyphron—Criton. Texte établi par MAURICE CROISSET. Pp. 233. Paris : 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1920. Fr. 12.

The series in which this volume appears is entitled 'Collection des Universités de France,' with the additional note that it is published under the patronage of the Association Guillaume Budé. We are further informed that, in conformity with the statutes of this Association, the volume before us was submitted to a technical committee, two members of which (MM. Louis Bodin and Paul Mazon) exercised editorial supervision over its production. We mention these facts in order to indicate the scale of the enterprise which this volume inaugurates and the care with which it is being conducted.

The volume itself is of a type not familiar in this country. There is first a short general introduction, giving the main facts as to Plato's life and writings and the state of the text. Then follow the dialogues, each with an introduction of its own, the plain Greek text without translation, and with a select critical apparatus recording only the more important variations. In the introductions the main points arising in connexion with the dialogues are treated fairly fully but without undue technicality. This plan suggests an aim similar to that of the Loeb Library. The books, we conjecture, are mainly intended for what it is now fashionable to call the adult student, rather than for the specialist; but the Frenchman, it seems, unlike his English and American analogue, can do without a crib.

We do not gather that M. Croiset had any ambitious designs on the text. He has been content in the main to rely on Prof. Burnet's work and to agree with his decisions in disputed passages. He has, probably wisely, departed from the traditional groupings of the dialogues and rearranged them in what he takes to be their chronological order.

We wish the Collection Budé every success, and welcome warmly (though regretably late) its first volume.

J. L. S.

**The Religion of Plato.** By PAUL ELMER MORE. Pp. xii + 352. Princetown University Press. London : Humphrey Milford, 1921. 10s. 6d. net.

Dr. More's account of Plato's religious beliefs is the first volume of four which have for their joint object the presentation of the Greek tradition as it impinged upon and largely conquered early Christian thought. To the whole series he gives as general title 'The Greek Tradition from the Death of Socrates to the Council of Chalcedon (399 B.C. to A.D. 451),' and he asks us to take his *Platonism* as a general introduction to this comprehensive work. From this it will be seen that the present volume is intended as a contribution to what we ordinarily call theology, and in particular to the understanding of the Greek Fathers and of the doctrines of the early Church; and it can be guessed that a final estimate of the value and importance of the present volume ought to be deferred until such time as its sequel is available.

Religious thought to Dr. More is a compound of three ingredients—philosophy, theology, and mythology. Philosophy is distinguished from metaphysics (which is, it

seems, pseudo-philosophy), and is predominantly ethical—the Greek ‘way of life.’ The subjects of study in this *Trivium* might perhaps be set out as—the life of man, the nature of God, the dealings of God with man. Dr. More takes each in turn, and prefaces to his treatment of each the translation of a cardinal passage from Plato’s works. For ‘philosophy’ his text is the speeches of Glaucon and Adeimantus in *Rep.* II.; for ‘theology’ nearly the whole of *Laws* X.; for ‘mythology’ considerable extracts from the *Timæus*. Last comes an account of the Religious Life, prefaced by a translation of sections of *Laws* iv and v. The translations occupy more than a quarter of the whole volume, and some will think that so much space could ill be spared. If Dr. More were writing primarily for students of Plato, clearly he would not have adopted this method; but to a more general public, to which Plato is not so easy of access, these extracts will be of great value and will materially fortify the exposition. To such readers this volume must be warmly recommended. The impression is too widely spread that the educated Greek was a sceptic and not in earnest with his religion. Dr. More’s sane and discriminating admiration of the Greek genius and the deft touches by which he premonitorily indicates its contribution to Christian thought will provide a valuable corrective.

The volume is also to be recommended to students of Plato. Dr. More seeks to set before us a great tradition, and is able to offer to those whose studies are solely or mainly occupied with the classical writers much that they too often miss. It is those portions of Plato’s works which had most influence on later writers that are his chief concern, and in dealing with them he is ready with illuminating quotation from the commentators and from the Greek Fathers. And Dr. More is surely right in thinking that the Plato of the ‘Greek Tradition’ is nearer to the real Plato than the Plato of Hegel or Lotze.

Dr. More has a definite and consistent view of Plato’s general philosophical position, into which it is scarcely possible to enter here; but there are details which may be questioned. Speaking of the relation between ideas and phenomena, he says: ‘In the *Parmenides* he had ended by denying the right of metaphysics to meddle with the matter at all’ (p. 202). There may be some subtlety hidden in the word ‘metaphysics’; but is not this a misstatement? Plato seems to us to end by saying that the way out from these perplexities can be found by *διαλεκτική* alone. On pp. 242–3 Dr. More’s own subsequent exposition seems to show that Plato’s acceptance of the dogma ‘virtue is knowledge’ is rather seriously overstated. We observe two misprints—*amnēsis* for ‘*anamnēsis*’ (p. 157) and ‘Simias’ for ‘Simmias’ (p. 132). And why should Dr. More soil his usually excellent English by the ugly and unnecessary neologism ‘self-origining’ (pp. 234, 237)?

J. L. S.

**Der junge Platon.** By ERNST HORNEFFER. I. Teil, Sokrates und die Apologie. Pp. iv + 170. Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1922. M. 27.

Prof. Horneffer’s essay on the *Apology* of Plato is an attempt to show, against most of the arbiters of German opinion in these matters, that it contains a historically sound and accurate account of the beliefs and activities of Socrates, and that no valid reason has been adduced for doubting its general fidelity to the tenor of Socrates’ speeches in his own defence at his trial. The argument is predominantly controversial in character: Prof. Horneffer starts as a rule from some statement with which he disagrees, and develops his own view in reply to it. He professes general agreement with H. Maier’s view of Socrates except in regard to the *Apology*, and much of the argument has reference to Maier’s points. He also engages in controversy with Wilamowitz, Schanz, Pohlenz, Pöhlmann, and Ivo Bruns. He does not seem to be acquainted with English contributions to the subject, or, if he is, he does not mention them. In view of the close relation of certain of his theses to points already made in greater detail by Taylor and Burnet, this defect in his equipment, or in his statement, is regrettable.

The main points of Dr. Horneffer’s argument are the following. That the Socratic movement was a heroic attempt at reconstruction necessitated by sophistic individualism; that what Socrates attempted was a religious and moral reform animated by a profound

and simple reverence for tradition; that his respect for Delphi and the ancestral religion generally was genuine and not assumed; that the Daimonion, which was the real ground of the charge of heresy brought against him, was to him a private oracle, a special means of communication with the god of Delphi; that Chaerephon's oracle is a historical fact, to be dated just after the publication of the *Clouds*, and was the beginning of Socrates' public mission; that this public mission (on which, apart from the *Apology*, Plato is practically silent) was essentially a religious activity, a call to repentance, and was hortatory or edifying in character, as well as elenctic. There is a useful appendix by Prof. Herzog, which collects and discusses the evidence for Delphic decisions, similar to that elicited by Chaerephon, as to primacy in piety, virtue, or wisdom.

No doubt many of these theses may be disputed. Some are certainly left rather vague, e. g. the nature of Socrates' philosophic activities before he began his public mission and the burden of his religious preaching. The only mention of the Orphics implies that their influence was on Plato, not on Socrates. The autobiography of the *Phaedo* is not mentioned at all. But Prof. Horneffer is always clear, vigorous, and lively, and he brings out well in more than one passage the paradoxes inherent in the conception of Socrates now orthodox in Germany. We shall be particularly interested to see how he will deal with the *Phaedo*. For the *Phaedo* is surely the crux in this matter. If he really agrees with Maier as closely as he says he does, Dr. Horneffer is in danger of wrecking his ship over this dialogue. We recommend to him a study of Burnet's edition. In the meantime, we congratulate him on a good start and wish him a good voyage.

J. L. S.

**Plotin.** Forschungen über die plotinische Frage, Plotins Entwicklung und sein System.

By FRITZ HEINEMANN. Pp. xiii + 318. Leipzig: Felix Meiner, 1921. 10s.

In this important book Heinemann raises the question of the order in which the works of Plotinus were composed. In his life of Plotinus Porphyry distinguishes three periods in his master's literary output, and the order in which he enumerates the treatises belonging to each period has been commonly supposed to be strictly chronological. Heinemann undertakes to prove that Porphyry's lists are by no means chronological, and further, that some of the treatises included in them are not by Plotinus at all. Thus he rejects III. 9 as the work of an Eclectic with strong Gnostic leanings, he rules out V. 7 for its triviality and the un-Plotinian character of its *logos*-doctrine, he holds I. 8, II. 2 and II. 6 to be abstracts of discussions in Plotinus' school with editorial additions, and he finds serious discrepancies between I. 9, II. 8, IV. 1 and the genuine books. After reading Heinemann's arguments one at least begins to feel some doubts about Porphyry's trustworthiness as an editor.

A more interesting question than the authenticity of these tracts, none of which is of great importance, is that of the order of Plotinus' writings. Heinemann first indicates various cross-references in the treatises, which seem to contradict the received order. But his chief results are obtained by a minute examination of the subject matter of the whole of Plotinus' works. He believes that three very distinct periods, roughly coincident with those marked out by Porphyry, may be traced in the development of Plotinus's thought, and in each period he finds two or three sub-stages. His conclusions are, very briefly, as follows. In his earliest writings Plotinus is 'Platonie'; he does not speak of the One, but of God or the Good,—the One first appears in VI. 9, the seventh treatise according to Heinemann,—and he deals with ethics in Plato's manner, describing the ascent of the soul in terms borrowed from the Mysteries. The second period, which begins with Porphyry's arrival in Rome in A.D. 263, is the Golden Age of Plotinus' teaching. While the keynote of the first period is transcendence, that of the second is immanence, or rather a 'will to immanence,' for the transcendentalism inherent in the system can never conceal itself for long. Matter becomes pure potentiality or pure not-being, into which the *logos* descends, or (a little later) the mirror which reflects the rays that stream from the One. 'The Idealism of Plotinus here finds its sharpest expression.' In his third



period (A.D. 268-270), old, ill and lonely, but courageously rising above his own troubles and those of his time, Plotinus makes indeed no metaphysical advance, but attempts to justify the ways of God to man. Here Heinemann, perhaps unnecessarily, sees definite Iranian influence. Matter is regarded as original evil; the struggle of the *logos* with it is parallel to that of Ormuzd with Ahriman. Man is not by nature evil—in this Heinemann scents an attack upon Christianity; his soul is good; it is only matter that makes him evil. Upon these views of Plotinus' doctrinal evolution Heinemann's chronological arrangement of the treatises largely depends. His arrangement can only be proved or disproved by very close study of Plotinus' text. Indeed Heinemann looks forward with some complacency to a long controversy on the question. The problem of Plato's writings has not been settled in a hundred years. How long, he wonders, will be required for the settlement of the Plotinian question?

The last section of the book is a valuable general account of Plotinus' system, which at times he criticises vigorously, though not, we think, unfairly. It is not a unitary system, deriving all from the One, but it sways between two opposite poles, the One and Matter, or, in other words, it is fundamentally dualistic. The One itself is riddled with contradictions. If abstract, it can be the source of nothing, if concrete, it cannot be merely one. We feel some sympathy with these and similar complaints. However much one may admire Plotinus' metaphysical acumen or the amazing eloquence of the mystical passages in the *Enneads*, it is sometimes hard not to feel impatience with his answers to problems that are no answers, his 'deductions' that really 'deduce' nothing, and his continual shiftings of ground, as from transcendence to immanence and back again. Heinemann's book is, in our judgment, one of the most suggestive and original works that have appeared on Plotinus, and account will have to be taken of it by all serious students of the philosopher. It has the additional merit of being beautifully printed. The author promises another work under the title *Plotin und die Gnosis*.

J. H. S.

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Diogenes Laertius. Übersetzt und erläutert von OTTO APELT. 2 vols. Pp. xxviii + 341, 327. Leipzig: Felix Meiner, 1921.

The book on the Lives and Opinions of Famous Philosophers, which dates from the first half of the third century A.D. and passes under the name of Diogenes Laertius, has not been rendered as a whole into a continental language for a century, though there is an English translation in 'Bohn,' which has apparently escaped German eyes. Dr. Apelt's version is intended, as he says, for the benefit of philosophically-minded laymen rather than for that of scholars. It is not, he tells us, a work preparatory to a critical edition, upon which, we gather from his preface, another scholar is now engaged. Dr. Apelt's introduction is written in very general terms; he dwells upon the respect which the Greeks (herein so unlike Germans!) felt for their philosophers and the consequent demand for popular histories of their doings and sayings; he refers briefly to the doxographic and biographical traditions, and concludes with an appreciation of the indefatigable but uncritical compiler, whose passion for giving references and taste for verse composition do not add to the attractiveness of his invaluable work. A discussion of the many interesting, but perhaps insoluble, literary problems raised by the book, Dr. Apelt purposely avoids, lest he burden the ears of the laymen for whom he writes. As to the translation, we have found few places where, granted the correctness of the original text, alteration is desirable. The English scholar will probably find it easier to read Diogenes' straightforward Greek than Dr. Apelt's German, and will be more likely to turn for assistance to the notes, which, though short, are much to the point. They contain a number of textual suggestions and emendations, e. g. in I. 5 the insertion of οὐδέ after οὐκ οἶδα; III. 72 διαλύεσθαι, ὡς τὸν θεόν for διαλύεσθαι εἰς τὸν θεόν; VII. 14 ἐνδιδούς for ἐνίους; V. 37 διδασκῆριον, 'das Wesen des Unterrichts' (?), for δικάστηριον. In V. 54 Apelt, instead of emending with others, takes συνείρηται as the subjunctive of συνείρω (ὅπως συνείρηται is rendered by *ut dictum est* in Hübner's edition) and inserts τὰ before περὶ τὸ ἱερόν, but the passage does not seem cured. In II. 15 ὦν ἐν οὐδενὶ φανί for ὦν ἐν οὐδενὶ πάντα and in V. 15

κατόπτου (? κάτοπτος) for καὶ ὅπου would, like perhaps the majority of emendations, have been better unprinted. The book concludes with a good index of proper names and subjects.

J. H. S.

**Geschichte der syrischen Literatur mit Ausschluss der Christlich-palästinensischen Texte.** Pp. 378. By ANTON BAUMSTARK. Bonn: Marcus and Weber, 1922. M.150.

The history of Syriac literature is a subject on which Germany has hitherto been behind Great Britain and France; for, while we have excellent histories by Wright and Duval, earlier German publications on the subject have been of a semi-popular character, and the present work is the first complete scientific history of Syriac literature that has appeared in Germany. As a literary production it is perhaps not equal to its predecessors, but as a bibliographical handbook it far surpasses them, for Dr. Baumstark gives all the MSS. which contain any part of a work as well as the editions, and we are amazed to find it stated in the preface that he only began the work in the summer of 1918. For the readers of this journal the translations from Greek, especially of lost works, will be the main interest, and they will, if they search for it, find the most complete information; but unfortunately this is a point on which the book is not well arranged, for there is no clear division or distinction between original works and translations, and in many cases the translations are given not under the author's name but under the translator's. For instance, the voluminous works of Severus of Antioch are almost entirely lost in Greek; but he has no paragraph to himself in this book, and a reader who wishes to know what works of his are extant in Syriac, and where they can be found, must turn to the eleven references under his name in the index, and will eventually find what he wants under Paul of Callinicus, Paul of Edessa, Athanasius of Nisibis, and James of Edessa. Logically this is perhaps defensible, but for purposes of reference it would have been more convenient to place the translations in a separate section under the original authors' names. The book is difficult reading on account of numerous strange abbreviations, which necessitate frequent references to the list at the beginning; but this is done to save printing, and under present conditions the author must not be blamed for it. In spite of these small defects Dr. Baumstark has produced a monument of industrious scholarship which will add to his high reputation, and will be a priceless mine of information for all who are concerned with Syriac literature.

E. W. B.

**The Esthetic Basis of Greek Art of the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.**  
By RHYS CARPENTER. Pp. 263. Bryn Mawr College; New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1921. \$1.50.

This is No. 1 of 'Bryn Mawr Monographs.' We hope there may be many more of the same series, though we doubt if they can all be as good as this. For Professor Rhys Carpenter has done us a great service. Preoccupied, on the one side, with the fascination of studying origins, and, on the other, with the no less fascinating pursuit of that will-o'-the-wisp, the nature of beauty, our criticism of the fine arts, especially those of ancient Greece, has rather lost sight, in the last generation or so, of its most important question, stated by our author in the words, 'What does the artistic process do? How does it behave?' In this little monograph of just 250 very small pages, Professor Rhys Carpenter presents, clearly and adequately, the results of a powerful effort of imaginative criticism. We say imaginative, for imagination, and that of considerable strength, is needed in order to divest oneself of present-day prejudices and enter into the intellectual consciousness of a great series of craftsmen whose methods are strange to our 'modern' age, wherein most of our everyday surroundings are manufactured by a process of quantity-production to suit the taste of the shop-walker, and the 'artist,' poor man, professes to rely not at all upon tradition, but on the unaided strength of individual inspiration.

It is just possible that the amateur of Greek antiquity, who should read and ponder deeply upon the author's penetrating analysis of the methods of Greek sculptors and architects, may be 'headed off' by the introductory section. In it, the author, during an approach (by the twisting path of analogy) to his treatment of 'the Subject-Matter of Greek Art,' finds occasion to note that the wizardry of poetry consists largely in an animistic process of metaphorical personifications and the like; in the course of which he quotes a portion of Shelley's *Wild West Wind*, putting twenty-two words into italics in the course of about half as many lines. A mistake, in our opinion; but 'twere pity on my life' if this were to prevent anyone from reading the book. Again, right at the end, there is an interesting passage which appears, nevertheless, a little out of keeping with the rest of the book. The author, in this passage, makes a quasi-propagandist excursion in which he attacks the widespread and hard-dying fallacy, of dour and Ruskinian aspect, according to which architecture, to be beautiful, must 'express its construction'—a fallacy that is disproved by some of the greatest works in every period, by Albi Cathedral as much as by the Salute Church and our own St. Paul's. Our author admits that he is himself a convert from that fallacy, and he exhibits a convert's zeal in his support of the humanist theory, whereby the beauty of architecture has nothing to do with construction, but consists quite simply in a purely visual appeal to 'our susceptibilities of mass, outline, colour and pattern, our muscular sense of balance, of strain, of freedom of motion and confinement, of size and weight and power.' With all this we most heartily agree; but our author seems to spend himself too much on the refutation of that particular fallacy. (He professes himself much indebted, for the rest, to the keen and serious dialectic of Geoffrey Scott's *Architecture of Humanism*: it is high praise, but not at all too high, to say that Professor Rhys Carpenter's own book, in its central discussion of the methods of Greek art, is on a level with that most valuable work.)

Our author sets out from the all-important fact that the Greek artists realised, better than anyone before or since, that 'art's true province is the representation of animate things'—above all, of the human body; which being admitted, he proceeds to lay down the dogmatic assertion that the real aesthetic quality of art consists (*not* in the artist's mode of self-expression, *nor*, again, in any particular quality in the emotion to be aroused in the spectator; *but*) in the perpetual repetition, in each perfect work of art, of the miraculous *fusion* of the imitative, representational *content* or subject-matter of art with the non-representational excellence of *pure form*. It is perhaps too much to expect universal or even general adherence, nowadays, to such a dogma: it does away with so much individual licence, and makes the artist's task so much harder than is generally admitted. Many may disagree with the author's indignant attack on 'our friends the Outragists,' who ask us 'not to think how we should scream if we encountered in the open a woman with cubical hips and a mouth curling vaguely beneath one ear'! But, apart from contemporary propaganda, this does appear to be a true analysis of the Hellenic method. For instance, it enables our author to put his finger on the nature of that spiritual decline which affected the majority (or at least a great part) of the Greek artistic production of the later fourth century and subsequent periods.

For this perfect fusion of representational and purely formal qualities, our author holds, was approached (after the excessive formalism of the Archaic Period) in the Period of the Transition, and was achieved to perfection in the Strong Period (by which he means, perhaps unexpectedly, the Age of Phidias and Polycleetus). After a long moment of perfect beauty in the Fine Period, it began to be lost again during the Free Period; and was not to be achieved (or but rarely, might we suggest?) in the succeeding Eclectic and Imitative Period. This exposition—it reminds one rather of Plato's or Polybius' theory of the Cycle of Constitutions—is illustrated by the author, most convincingly, from familiar works of various dates. He follows out the implications of his doctrine with an admirably courageous logic. 'Lysippus,' he holds, 'is already of the decadence.' (One rather hopes he means the Lysippus of the Apoxyomenus, not of the Agias; two very distinct personalities, as different almost as the Beethoven of the early sonatas and of the post-humorous quartets.) An interesting discussion arises, in regard to the true meaning of the famous tag '*ab illis quales essent homines, a se quales viderentur esse*'—as of some other famous and controverted passages; he finds that there is here no question of impressionism;

for 'Pliny's *essent* is Plato's τὸ ὄντι ὄν and Aristotle's τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι, which is not in the least like artistic realism or representational fidelity to natural appearances; and his *viderentur* refers to τὰ φαινόμενα, which is the very thing which we nowadays call reality.' (Of course, to the artist, the appearance *is* the reality.) Even Praxiteles, on this view, has already started on the fatal slope of excessive attention to representational detail; incidentally, this lends a special contemporary interest and application to Plato's criticism of art as mere imitation.

Spiritual decadence sets in, inevitably, according to Professor Rhys Carpenter's theory, at the moment when, and in so far as, the *formal content* (derived from but in essence differing from those general mental images of which archaic art supplies the un-realistic copy) becomes diminished and obscured by too much insistence upon realism in imitating the *actual appearance* of objects. (The converse would also be just as possible; but Greek artists seldom, if ever, allowed themselves to lose touch with reality, *once approached*, in the direction of an artificial and therefore unsatisfactory devotion to 'pure form'; and so the discussion of that possibility does not directly arise.)

But this consideration of the general nature of the methods of the Greek sculptors (which must be judged in its full extent in the book itself, and not from our bald and unconvincing summary) does not exhaust Professor Rhys Carpenter's contribution to the Aesthetics of Greek Art. It would even be true to say that the main object of his book is to analyse, as he does for architecture as well as for sculpture, the actual working out of those principles of wise limitation of scope by which the Greeks were able so quickly and so surely to approach and achieve absolute perfection. The nature and value of the conventions of one- and two-dimensional design (in the form respectively of pure line and of 'pattern'), the problems of the relation of line to mass, of chiaroscuro and so forth, are all most ably dealt with in regard more especially to sculpture; and the special uses of the Orders, in architecture, as forming a sort of artificial world of recognisable shapes by the special variation and constructional arrangement of which architectural emotion can be aroused with the least possible disturbance of the spectator's concentration upon a purely visual effect: all this and much more, into which we cannot now enter, is given us with the greatest clarity of language and precision of thought. The argument often makes a strenuous demand on one's power of concentration; it is none the worse for that. There is no detailed index or table of contents to help one out; but there is a very excellent marginal summary.

Last, but by no means least, Professor Rhys Carpenter must be praised for evading throughout that death-trap which has closed over so many art-critics—from Aristotle to Mr. Berenson—that, namely, of paying more attention to the emotions to be aroused in the cultured spectator than to what is really the only important matter, the object and methods of the artist himself.

**Greek Papyri in the British Museum.** Catalogue, with Texts. Vol. V. By H. I. BELL. Pp. xvi + 376. London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 1917.

This fine volume, which deserved a more punctual notice here, while not rivalling its predecessor either in bulk or importance, makes a valuable addition to the papyrus evidence for the later Byzantine period, concerning which there is still much to be learnt. The documents are a miscellaneous collection from several sites.—Aphrodito (the source of the contents of Vol. IV.), Antinoë, Thebes, Syene, Hermopolis, Oxyrhynchus and elsewhere; and they exemplify a variety of types, official and private. 1663, a sixth-century order by a *praeses* for a payment of corn to a Numidian corps stationed at Syene, affords a clear instance of the use of the Constantinopolitan indiction beginning on September 1. A sporadic employment of that mode of computation in preference to the Egyptian indiction, at any rate in documents relating to taxation, has now to be seriously reckoned with by papyrologists, and may account for some of the chronological inconsistencies frequent at this period. An unusually long and interesting text gives a report (1708) of an arbitration in a family dispute about an inheritance. The pleadings on both sides are set out *in*

*extenso*, followed by an elaborate award, which occupies eighty lines, of the arbitrator. On the verso of this is a marriage contract, of which a draft is preserved in the Cairo Museum. It was drawn up after the consummation of the marriage, a fact which M. Jean Maspero proposed to connect with the ancient *mariage d'essai*. That explanation may not be the true one, but it is hardly to be rejected on the ground that 'a reminiscence of so primitive an institution' would not be looked for in Christian times. Something not very dissimilar is said still to be practised in the north of Great Britain. The 'curious and interesting undertakings' of the husband and wife are really of much the same kind as those found in the earlier contracts of marriage. Another welcome acquisition is 1718, which contains a series of metrological tables referring to measures of capacity, weight and length. It provides a number of new data and is an important addition to the sources for a subject on which much uncertainty prevails, especially with regard to the dry measures. Among the papyri not printed in full but briefly described on pp. 263 ff. are to be noted two from Herculaneum presented by King Edward VII. (fragments of Epicurus *Περὶ φύσεως* xi and an unopened roll), and some minor literary pieces, both prose and verse, of the Roman age: these no doubt will be dealt with more fully elsewhere.

Mr. Bell is especially at home in the Byzantine period, and the editorial work is carried out with all the skill and care that would be anticipated from him. At times, indeed, the desire for accuracy carries him almost too far. It is hardly necessary, for instance, to point out, as is repeatedly done, that a reading is uncertain when the fact is already indicated by the dotted letters of the text, nor is it consistent to suggest doubts about letters printed as if they were read with certainty (cf. *e. g.* p. 130). On p. 151 it is stated that a [τ]οῦ is unexpected, that the space seems too small for anything else, but 'perhaps' [νέ]ον is possible. Notes of this ultra-cautious kind, which cannot be very helpful in any case, seem uncalled for in dealing with business documents of no special importance, and their omission would appreciably have lightened the commentary. In the early volumes of this Catalogue the explanatory matter was perhaps somewhat jejune; now the tendency is rather in the opposite direction. It is to be hoped that Mr. Bell will not allow himself to be influenced by the long-winded method of exegesis favoured in certain Continental quarters. Or can it be that a protracted immersion in Byzantine Greek is having an effect upon his style (see *e. g.* p. 121)?

No facsimiles were issued with this volume, but reproductions of the more important papyri in it are intended to accompany Vol. VI., to which we wish a prosperous and speedy course.

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**Etruscan Tomb Paintings:** their Subjects and Significance. By FREDERIK POULSEN. Pp. 63, 47 illustrations. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1922.

After years of undeserved neglect Etruscan tomb paintings appear to be coming into their own again. Körte and Weege have led the way in scientific publication; and, judging from the number of works on the subject recently published on the Continent, there seems to be a recrudescence of the popular enthusiasm which actuated the generation of George Dennis. Under such circumstances the English-speaking world will welcome the present translation of a Museum guide-book from the pen of the learned keeper of classical antiquities at Copenhagen. The important collection of facsimile reproductions and drawings formed during the 'nineties by the late Carl Jacobsen makes the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek a convenient centre for the study of the subject; for while, as Dr. Poulsen points out, the facsimiles are not always free from error, there is no other place where a general idea of the development of the art can so easily be obtained.

Accompanied by adequate illustrations from these facsimiles, Dr. Poulsen leads us briefly through the whole range of Etruscan painting, commencing with the Campana Tomb at Veii of the seventh century B.C. Then follow the group of sixth-century tombs in style reminiscent of contemporary Ionic vase paintings, down to the Tomba del Barone at Corneto, which, as has long been known, was by the hand of a Greek painter. The influence of Attic art prevails in the fifth century, after which comes the long period of

Etruscan decline, to which the greater part of the extant remains belong. It is interesting to observe how, as the national fortunes of Etruria grew clouded with disaster, their once cheerful art turned for inspiration to the morbid horrors of the under-world or to horrible scenes of bloodshed and massacre. In fact, the book is not only a comprehensive and modern sketch of Etruscan pictorial art; it is a penetrating and suggestive study of the whole field of Etruscan civilisation, and it is surprising how many aspects of that civilisation Dr. Poulsen contrives to touch upon in a work of such small compass. The translation by Miss Ingeborg Andersen has been revised by Dr. G. F. Hill; we have been unable to compare it with the original, but it reads crisply and pleasantly.

**Archaistische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom.** By EDUARD SCHMIDT. Pp. 92 + 24 plates. Munich: B. Heller, 1922.

A collection of essays dealing with various examples of archaistic art, and intended to form part of a more general treatment of the subject. The writer's aim is mainly chronological, to define the period at which deliberate imitation of the archaic appears in Greek art, and to determine what is older than Roman, or Graeco-Roman in the mass of archaistic remains. The first series to be examined is supplied by the fourth-century Panathenaic Amphorae; here the archaistic type of Athena—striding to right, the drapery drawn tight with swinging tails—first appears between 366 and 363 B.C., in place of the traditional Athena with drapery hanging naturally and moving to the left. This indicates a date early in the century for the first appearance of the new style, allowing a few years before the vase-painters adopted it. Similarly the base in the Acropolis Museum at Athens with four deities in relief, No. 610, is dated between 390 and 370 B.C.; to which period, or thereabouts, also belongs the theme of Pan and the Nymphs, known in many replicas. On the other hand, works of the late fifth century which have an archaistic look—such as the Pergamene Herm of Alcamenes, or the type of triple Hecate, probably by the same sculptor—are to be considered belated survivals rather than conscious imitations of the archaic. The conclusion is that the archaistic style was the deliberate creation of one artist working in the early decades of the fourth century, and for this artist the identification of Callimachos is proposed.

A long appendix follows on the dating and development of Panathenaic Vases. Graef and after him Brauchitsch supposed the existence of a gap of over a century between the early and late groups of these prize-amphorae, and produced several explanations to account for the gap. Following Hauser, Schmidt denies the existence of any considerable gap, and with the aid of new material endeavours to limit it even more closely than Hauser. The key to the chronology lies in the drawing of the back picture, and the artists, working in a traditional style, lagged behind the red-figure painters. Thus of the early group some must be dated well down in the fifth century, and of the later group some must be placed earlier than 400 B.C. Carefully compiled lists of vases showing the typological variations complete a work which is compactly written and unusually suggestive.

**Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte der Thraker.** By GAWRIL I. KAZAROW. Pp. 122, 38 illustrations. Sarajevo: J. Studnička and Co., 1916.

This monograph, unlike many of the works of Balkan scholars, has no modern politico-ethnological thesis to support. It consists mainly of a concise and useful assembly of facts culled from historical and archaeological sources concerning the habits and nature of the ancient Thracians. As such it covers much the same ground as the standard articles of Tomaschek on the Thracians, but is not vitiated, as are the works of that scholar, by the appeal to dubious and often unacceptable philological views. No new evidence that has not already been published is here brought forward, but the details of the most recent discoveries in Thrace up to 1916 are carefully considered.

An attempt is made to see the germs of an indigenous Thracian art in the gold and silver treasure of Panagyurishte (p. 97). The artistic affinities of this treasure have

already been pointed out by Rostovtzeff: what is not purely Scythian is purely Hellenic. We have at present no monuments of purely Thracian art, and there is no reason for believing that the Thracians of the historic period were in any way artistic. In the same way the author accepts the famous Ezerovo ring with its inscription of sixty-one letters as a Thracian object of the fifth century B.C. bearing a Thracian inscription. It has been shown recently by Seure that the inscription, although Thracian, consists of a series of proper names and belongs to the second or third century A.D. As such its contribution to the study of the Thracian language is small.

A few small points call for comment. The Derronians on p. 23 are placed near Pangaeum, while on p. 37 they are placed near Dysoron in the Krusha Balkan. This is, no doubt, a slip. But in any case neither identification is acceptable. The bulk of the Derronian octadrachms come from near Shtip, which is far north even of the Krusha Balkan, and there are other reasons for placing the tribe north of Lake Doiran. The so-called Hermes on the octadrachms (p. 23) is later (p. 37) called a tribal hero. This latter, despite the views of Svoronos, is the more probable interpretation.

On p. 19 it is suggested that the Odrysian kingdom began to take shape about 480 B.C. This seems too early a date by at least twenty-five years.

On p. 42 the figures on the lower part of the relief shown in Fig. 9 are called 'satyrs.' There is nothing to distinguish them from ordinary human figures.

On p. 3 line 19 'Dussand' is a misprint for 'Dussaud.'

The author accepts but does not attempt to explain the remarkable fact that in prehistoric times the culture of the latest Neolithic or Chalkolithic period comes to an abrupt end all over Bulgaria and Thrace and is not followed by a Bronze or Early Iron Age, except in a very few places. This is the outstanding problem of the prehistoric period. Macedonia, on the other hand, possessed a flourishing Bronze Age which, as Schmidt has shown, has strong Trojan affinities. This is noted by Kazaroff without explanation, and he does not seem to appreciate the difference between the Moldavian painted pottery group and the incised pottery tradition of Serbia and Macedonia.

In his account of Thracian weapons the author does not discuss the *ἄρπη* or the *πέληγ*. Except for these minor errors and omissions the monograph is of great use and is packed with useful material.

S. C.

**A Large Estate in Egypt in the Third Century B.C.** A Study in Economic History. By MICHAEL ROSTOVITZEFF. Pp. 209, 3 plates. Wisconsin: Madison, 1922. \$ 2.

This important work, which forms No. 6 of the University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History, is an attempt to examine the correspondence of Zenon as a whole and to appreciate its interest from the historical point of view. No man could be better qualified for this task than Rostovtzeff, a recognised master in economic history. The fact that not one half, perhaps not even a quarter, of the correspondence has yet been published is no doubt a drawback; but we are thankful that this has not deterred Rostovtzeff from formulating his general conception. His book, besides its permanent value, will be of immense help to the editors of the remainder of the correspondence. When that has been published, no doubt Rostovtzeff will have a good deal to add to his exposition, and not improbably a good many things to correct.

Excellent as the book is, it would have been improved by a more thorough revision; for, apart from those points in which Rostovtzeff's general views are disputable, there are not a few errors of fact. For instance, on p. 57 *παπαγέννη* is translated and commented on as if it were in the third person, *παπαγέννηται*; the meaning is not that Panakestor was going to Alexandria, but that Zenon was coming to Philadelphia. On p. 178 is a curious passage about the production of gum-styrax in Upper Egypt, founded on a mistranslation; in the Greek text, P. Mich. Inv. 40, it is quite evident that *Στύραξ* should be written as a proper name, and in fact Styra is a well-known figure in the correspondence. On p. 76, *προκοπήν ποιῆσαι* is translated 'to pay anything in advance,' whereas it only means 'to make a step forward.' Kerke (see p. 122) did not lie on the main canal of the

Fayoum, but on the Nile itself. But such small blemishes do not detract from the value of the book, whose strength consists in its generalisations and its striking pictures of economic conditions.

The different phases of Zenon's career are put before us with greater clearness and fullness than had been hitherto attempted. Rostovtzeff explains the title of *διοκονόμος* as 'steward of the private property of Apollonios.' I doubt, however, whether Rostovtzeff is right in supposing that during the period when Zenon was in direct contact with Apollonius he dealt exclusively with his master's private interests. Not one only, but several of the letters preserved by Zenon at this time (including a long text of great importance which I hope to publish soon) are concerned with questions of public economy. We may surely infer from this that, apart from high politics, Zenon had a hand in the conduct of Apollonius' official as well as private correspondence.

But the main subject of the book is the *δωρεά* of Apollonius at Philadelphia. Chapter v contains an admirable sketch of the institution of *δωρεαί*, estates granted by the king to courtiers and high officials for their personal use, but not as their absolute property. Especially interesting and novel is Rostovtzeff's explanation of Zenon's official activities as manager of the *δωρεά*. His position according to Rostovtzeff conferred on him the administrative authority usually exercised by the *ἐπιστάτης* and the other regular officials of the village; and thus it was that though he had no definite rank in the official hierarchy, he yet had administrative powers and responsibilities. Rostovtzeff's discussion of the other *δωρεά* which Apollonius apparently possessed at Memphis or in the Memphite nome, is not altogether happy (pp. 53-55). It is not true that the contract which Harnais wishes to make with Apollonius about the dykes at Memphis was subject to the subsequent approval of the oecnome and engineer; the text (see P.S.I. 488) only means that the work was to be executed to their satisfaction; in other words, they were to certify that he had fulfilled his contract. Nor can one endorse Rostovtzeff's suggestion that Philadelphus attempted to degrade or internationalise the city of Memphis; for the foreign communities of which he speaks were of ancient standing.

Chapter vi is a very useful and original study of reclamation work on the *δωρεά*. Rostovtzeff has done much to make intelligible the relations to each other of the different parties mentioned in the papyri, engineers, contractors, Government controllers and agents of the landlord. That many points still remain obscure is inevitable. I cannot believe, for instance, in his explanation of P.S.I. 488, in which Apollonius seems to me to be acting merely as the dioiketes and not as the owner of a *δωρεά*. Rostovtzeff may be right (pp. 60, 61) in identifying Petechon with the Petechonsis of the Petrie papyri, but P.P.II.IV. 4 does not bear out his statement that Petechon took the liberty of rebuking his superior officers; the rebuke was administered by Clearchus, a very different person.

In Chapter vii Rostovtzeff uses the evidence of an unpublished papyrus in the British Museum to prove that part of the *δωρεά* was rented collectively to a body of peasants brought *en bloc* from another district. Other parts of the land, he says, were rented not to groups but to individual farmers. I have no wish to dispute this latter statement, but I doubt whether the instances adduced by Rostovtzeff are quite to the point (pp. 81-83). Zenon, as we know from several documents, *e.g.* P.S.I. 522, was a great exploiter of the *κλήροι* of military settlers who did not care to work their own land. He took over many such *κλήροι*, paying rent to the holders and cultivating the land by means of his own farmers. Now the farmers of whom Rostovtzeff speaks in his argument seem to me to have been, for the most part at least, Zenon's employees on the *κλήροι*. Take in particular P.S.I. 400, where we read that a piece of land was in danger of being confiscated by the Treasury. How could this apply to a parcel of the *δωρεά*? The *δωρεά* might indeed be confiscated, but only as a whole. Again, in ll. 7-10 the writer undertakes to pay over to Zenon ten drachmae on each arura, saying that Zenon will be able to pay the rent out of this and make a profit of six drachmae. Rostovtzeff supposes that the rent mentioned was paid to the Government, but the obvious explanation is that it was rent paid by Zenon to the cleruchs. In spite of what Rostovtzeff says in this chapter, I see no reason for thinking that the holder of a *δωρεά*, any more than the holder of a *κλήρος*, paid rent (*ἐκφόριον*) to Government for his land.

Chapter viii deals with the cultivation and taxation of vineyards. One point on which



I venture to offer a criticism is Rostovtzeff's explanation of P.Z. 38 (see p. 100). The officials, he says, assessed the vineyard of Stratippos for one half of the produce, taking the average of the produce for the last two years, instead of assessing it for one-third, taking the average for the last three years. The Greek text does not say so; and, in fact, the supposed procedure is essentially absurd. The real point of the complaint is this: the officials knew that the vineyard had not been long planted and that three years ago it had not begun to yield to any great extent; so, in order that it should not be assessed at an unduly low figure, they took its average yield for the last two years only, instead of taking the average, as they usually did, for the last three years. *Hinc illae lacrimae*. On p. 103 Rostovtzeff expresses a confident opinion that Zenon was the general farmer of the taxes on vine land for three nomics at least. This sweeping statement goes far beyond the meagre inference which I drew from P.Z. 62, but does the evidence justify it? On p. 106 Rostovtzeff refers to P.S.I. 510 without observing that the correct reading is evidently not ζ μηνῶν, 'seven months,' but ζμηνῶν, 'bee-hives.'

In Chapter ix, which is largely concerned with stock-breeding, there is one important point on which I doubt whether Rostovtzeff is right; it is the nature of the φόρος paid for pigs, sheep, goats, etc. (see pp. 109-110 and p. 114, note 1). Rostovtzeff thinks that a φόρος in kind was paid to the State by the herdsmen, and that, in the case of the pigs at least, the collection of this φόρος was farmed to Zenon. I do not see any clear evidence of this. In P.Z. 53 and 60, verso, the φόρος seems certainly to be paid by the herdsmen to the owners of the herds, and I think that this is also so in P.S.I. 379 and 381 and P.Z. 49. As in the case of land, it seems to me that Rostovtzeff does not distinguish clearly enough between rent paid to the owner and taxes paid to the State. He keeps his eye so constantly fixed on the figure of the State in the background that sometimes perhaps he overlooks what is happening in the foreground.

These are but a few of the points that have struck me in reading this thoughtful and original study. Perhaps I have criticised it too freely; but one of its attractions is that it challenges criticism on almost every page; and a tribute of vague admiration would be a poor compliment to its stimulating power.

C. C. E.

**Observations sur les premiers habitats de la Macédoine.** By LÉON REY.  
Pp. 175, 139 illustrations. Paris: de Boccard, 1921.

This volume (the first of two), originally issued as a war volume of the *B.C.H.* (vols. xli.-xliii. in one), contains the report on Macedonia drawn up by M. Rey of the Archaeological Section attached to the French G.H.Q. of the *Armée d'Orient*. The report contained in this volume deals principally with the surface remains of the prehistoric period in Macedonia. Accurate and detailed maps and surveys of prehistoric and other mounds, illustrated with excellent photographs and section-plans, form the bulk of the material here dealt with. There is also a preliminary geographical chapter and reports of two excavations.

The Macedonia of M. Rey does not correspond in area to the Macedonia of antiquity. His area includes the Monastir plain but excludes the Struma valley and South Chaleidice. The Vardar valley is examined as far up as Vardarovtsi, but the whole of the Ardjani plain, which is in the same latitude and contains many important sites, is omitted. These omissions should have been noted in the preface, for the work is expressly called an 'inventory of mounds.'

In the geographical chapter M. Rey calls particular attention to the 'uninterrupted chain of mounds that stretches from Gumuldjina to the Vardar.' No such 'uninterrupted chain' exists; in fact one of the great problems of prehistoric Macedonia is to explain the remarkable absence of such mounds in the large area between the Angista and the Maritsa. The coast bordering the Thermaic gulf is really the great mound area.

The classification of mounds (p. 16 ff.) into (1) the 'Toumba' or conical mound, (2) the 'Table' or flat-topped mound, (3) the 'Toumba sur table' or flat-topped mound

with a conical projection, is quite unsuitable. The 'table' is, as the inventory shows, almost invariably a town-site of the historic period. The 'Toumba sur table,' on the other hand, is always a prehistoric site. But the title of the latter suggests that it is a prehistoric mound of type (1), combined with a classical site of type (2). This is, in fact, never the case. Type (3) is always a prehistoric type in which the flat-topped area resembles the classical mounds of type (2) only superficially. A further objection to this classification is that type (1) must include conical burial mounds of the historic period. The best classification is surely into (A) conical burial mounds of the historic period, (B) long ovoid mounds of the prehistoric period, (a) with slightly flattened summits and steep sides, (b) with a conical projection on the flattened summit, (C) mounds of the historic period of great area and low height with an entirely flat surface.

M. Rey on p. 114 ff. and Fig. 92 classes the site of Gnoina as late Roman, doubts Drimiglava and omits Yenikeuy (near Gnoina). The first has been clearly established as prehistoric as well as Roman; the second is the most important prehistoric site in the Langaza area; the third is, from its position, one of the most interesting. This region has obviously been examined by M. Rey with too little care.

The method of excavation, by means of narrow pits and trenches, of the mounds at Gona (p. 141) and Sedes (p. 158) is such as to render the classification of the strata and pottery and the terminology used for them precarious in the extreme.

S. C.



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# RULES

OF THE

## Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

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I. THE objects of this Society shall be as follows :—

I. To advance the study of Greek language, literature, and art, and to illustrate the history of the Greek race in the ancient, Byzantine, and Neo-Hellenic periods, by the publication of memoirs and unedited documents or monuments in a Journal to be issued periodically.

II. To collect drawings, facsimiles, transcripts, plans, and photographs of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains, and with this view to invite travellers to communicate to the Society notes or sketches of archæological and topographical interest.

III. To organise means by which members of the Society may have increased facilities for visiting ancient sites and pursuing archæological researches in countries which, at any time, have been the sites of Hellenic civilisation.

2. The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Council, a Treasurer, one or more Secretaries, 40 Hon. Members, and Ordinary Members. All officers of the Society shall be chosen from among its Members, and shall be *ex-officio* members of the Council.

3. The President shall preside at all General, Ordinary, or Special Meetings of the Society, and of the Council or of any Committee at which he is present. In case of the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in the absence of the Vice-Presidents the Treasurer. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council or Committee shall appoint one of their Members to preside.

4. The funds and other property of the Society shall be administered and applied by the Council in such manner as they shall consider most conducive to the objects of the Society: in the Council shall also be vested the control of all publications issued by the Society, and the general management of all its affairs and concerns. The number of the Council shall not exceed fifty.

5. The Treasurer shall receive, on account of the Society, all subscriptions, donations, or other moneys accruing to the funds thereof, and shall make all payments ordered by the Council. All cheques shall be signed by the Treasurer and countersigned by the Secretary.

6. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council may direct that cheques may be signed by two members of Council and countersigned by the Secretary.

7. The Council shall meet as often as they may deem necessary for the despatch of business.

8. Due notice of every such Meeting shall be sent to each Member of the Council, by a summons signed by the Secretary.

9. Three Members of the Council, provided not more than one of the three present be a permanent officer of the Society, shall be a quorum.

10. All questions before the Council shall be determined by a majority of votes. The Chairman to have a casting vote.

11. The Council shall prepare an Annual Report, to be submitted to the Annual Meeting of the Society.

12. The Secretary shall give notice in writing to each Member of the Council of the ordinary days of meeting of the Council, and shall have authority to summon a Special and Extraordinary Meeting of the Council on a requisition signed by at least four Members of the Council.

13. Two Auditors, not being Members of the Council, shall be elected by the Society in each year.

14. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held in London in June of each year, when the Reports of the Council and of the Auditors shall be read, the Council, Officers, and Auditors for the ensuing year elected, and any other business recommended by the Council discussed and determined. Meetings of the Society for the reading of papers may be held at such times as the Council may fix, due notice being given to Members.

15. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and Council shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting.

16. The President shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of five years, and shall not be immediately eligible for re-election.

17. The Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of one year, after which they shall be eligible for re-election.

18. One-third of the Council shall retire every year, but the Members so retiring shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

19. The Treasurer and Secretaries shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the Council.

20. The elections of the Officers, Council, and Auditors, at the Annual Meeting, shall be by a majority of the votes of those present. The Chairman of the Meeting shall have a casting vote. The mode in which the vote shall be taken shall be determined by the President and Council.

21. Every Member of the Society shall be summoned to the Annual Meeting by notice issued at least one month before it is held.

22. All motions made at the Annual Meeting shall be in writing and shall be signed by the mover and seconder. No motion shall be submitted, unless notice of it has been given to the Secretary at least three weeks before the Annual Meeting.

23. Upon any vacancy in the Presidency occurring between the Annual Elections, one of the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council to officiate as President until the next Annual Meeting.

24. All vacancies among the other Officers of the Society occurring between the same dates shall in like manner be provisionally filled up by the Council until the next Annual Meeting.

25. The names of all Candidates wishing to become Members of the Society shall be submitted to a Meeting of the Council, and at their next Meeting the Council shall proceed to the election of Candidates so proposed: no such election to be valid unless the Candidate receives the votes of the majority of those present.

26. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January each year; this annual subscription may be compounded for by a single payment of £15 15s., entitling compounders to be Members of the Society for life, without further payment. All Members elected on or after January 1, 1921, shall pay on election an entrance fee of one guinea.

27. The payment of the Annual Subscription, or of the Life Composition, entitles each Member to receive a copy of the ordinary publications of the Society.

28. When any Member of the Society shall be six months in arrear of his Annual Subscription, the Secretary or Treasurer shall remind him of the arrears due, and in case of non-payment thereof within six months after date of such notice, such defaulting Member shall cease to be a Member of the Society, unless the Council make an order to the contrary.

29. Members intending to leave the Society must send a formal notice of resignation to the Secretary on or before January 1; otherwise they will be held liable for the subscription for the current year.

30. If at any time there may appear cause for the expulsion of a Member of the Society, a Special Meeting of the Council shall be held to consider the case, and if at such Meeting at least two-thirds of the Members present shall concur in a resolution for the expulsion of such Member of the Society, the President shall submit the same for confirmation at a General Meeting of the Society specially summoned for this purpose, and if the decision of the Council be confirmed by a majority at the General Meeting, notice shall be given to that effect to the Member in question, who shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Society.

31. The Council shall have power to nominate 40 British or Foreign Honorary Members. The number of British Honorary Members shall not exceed ten.

32. The Council may, at their discretion, elect for a period not exceeding five years Student-Associates, who shall be admitted to certain privileges of the Society.

33. The names of Candidates wishing to become Student-Associates shall be submitted to the Council in the manner prescribed for the Election of Members. Every Candidate shall also satisfy the Council by means of a certificate from his teacher, who must be a person occupying a recognised position in an educational body and be a Member of the Society, that he is a *bonâ fide* Student in subjects germane to the purposes of the Society.

34. The Annual Subscription of a Student-Associate shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January in each year. In case of non-payment the procedure prescribed for the case of a defaulting Ordinary Member shall be followed.

35. Student-Associates shall receive the Society's ordinary publications, and shall be entitled to attend the General and Ordinary Meetings, and to read in the Library. They shall not be entitled to borrow books from the Library, or to make use of the Loan Collection of Lantern Slides, or to vote at the Society's Meetings.

36. A Student-Associate may at any time pay the Member's entrance fee of one guinea, and shall forthwith become an Ordinary Member.

37. Ladies shall be eligible as Ordinary Members or Student-Associates of the Society, and when elected shall be entitled to the same privileges as other Ordinary Members or Student-Associates.

38. No change shall be made in the Rules of the Society unless at least a fortnight before the Annual Meeting specific notice be given to every Member of the Society of the changes proposed.

# THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

## OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR 1922—1923.

### President.

SIR FREDERIC KENYON, K.C.B., D.Litt., P.B.A.

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SIR ARTHUR EVANS, F.R.S., D.Litt., LL.D.,  
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REV. PROF. A. H. SAYCE, Litt.D., D.Litt.  
MR. A. HAMILTON SMITH.  
SIR CECIL HARCOURT SMITH, C.V.O., LL.D.  
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SIR CHARLES WALSTON, Litt.D., Ph.D.,  
L.H.D.

### Council.

MR. W. C. F. ANDERSON.  
MR. N. H. BAYNES.  
MR. J. D. BEAZLEY.  
MR. H. I. BELL.  
MR. R. C. BOSANQUET.  
REV. PROF. HENRY BROWN.  
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PROF. R. M. DAWKINS.  
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LADY EVANS.  
MR. E. J. FORSDYKE.

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MR. E. NORMAN GARDINER.  
MR. H. R. HALL.  
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MR. R. W. LIVINGSTONE.  
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MR. A. J. B. WACE.  
MR. H. B. WALTERS.

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MISS C. A. HUTTON.

### Hon. Treasurer.

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### Assistant Treasurer.

MR. GEORGE GARNETT, ST. MARTIN'S STREET, W.C. 2.

### Hon. Librarian.

MR. A. HAMILTON SMITH.

### Secretary, Librarian and Keeper of Photographic Collections.

MR. JOHN PENOYRE, C.B.E., 19, BLOOMSBURY SQUARE, W.C. 1.

### Assistant Librarian.

MR. F. WISE.

### Acting Editorial Committee.

MR. E. J. FORSDYKE.      PROF. ERNEST GARDNER.      MR. G. F. HILL.

### Consultative Editorial Committee.

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PROFESSOR GILBERT MURRAY.      SIR FREDERIC KENYON  
and MR. A. J. B. WACE (ex officio as Director of the British School at Athens).

### Auditors for 1922-1923.

MR. C. T. CLAY.

MR. W. E. F. MACMILLAN.

### Bankers.

MESSRS. COULTS & CO., 15, LOMBARD STREET, E.C. 3.



## LIST OF MEMBERS.

This List includes members elected during the year 1922 only.

† *Life Members.*

- Adams, Miss E. M., 180, *Aldergate Street, E.C. 1.*  
 Anderson, Prof. L. Francis, 364, *Boyer Avenue, Walla Walla, Wash., U.S.A.*  
 Ashdown, Miss Joan, *Little Hallingbury, Bishop's Stortford.*  
 Augustino, P., *c/o Messrs. P. Augustino, Alexandria, Egypt.*  
 Barnard, Miss E. M., *Bredcroft, Stamford.*  
 Borie, Chas. I., 112, *South 16th Street, Philadelphia, Penn., U.S.A.*  
 Chandler, Miss L., 140, *Broomspring Lane, Sheffield.*  
 Chapman, Miss A. C., 25, *Wilbury Road, Hove, Sussex.*  
 Childe, V. Gordon, *Bloomsbury House Club, Cartwright Gardens, W.C. 1.*  
 Eleftheroudakis, M. Constantin G., *Director of Publishing House, Eleftheroudakis Athens, Greece.*  
 Fairweather, W. Cranston, 62, *Saint Vincent Street, Glasgow.*  
 Fitz Herbert, R. J. A., *Trinity College, Cambridge.*  
 Gover, Miss M., 3, *St. Aubyns Mansions, Church Road, S.E. 19.*  
 Green, Christopher, *Christ Church, Oxford.*  
 Greenwood, Leonard, *Abberley Hall, Worcestershire.*  
 †Hasluck, Mrs. F. W., *c/o H.B.M. Consul, Salonica.*  
 Hickie, Eric Wynne, 6, *Redlands, Triverton, Devon.*  
 Hight, G. A., 2, *Bardwell Rd., Oxford.*  
 Jennewein, Paul, 560, *West 26th Street, New York City, U.S.A.*  
 Jenkin, Miss D. H., *c/o British Consulate, Teneriffe, Canary Islands.*  
 Kahn, Ely Jacques, 25, *Claremont Avenue, New York City, U.S.A.*  
 Kennedy, W. Rann, 2, *Garden Court, Temple, E.C. 4.*  
 Lamburn, Miss R. C., 9, *Cherry Orchard Road, Bromley Common, Kent.*  
 Levi, Philip A., 6, *Artesian Road, Bayswater, W. 2.*  
 Lewis, Geo., *Engle Street, Tenafly, N.J., U.S.A.*  
 Lloyd, Miss A. M., No. 1, *North Park, Gerrard's Cross, Bucks.*  
 Lomer, Colonel Sydney, 41, *St. John's Wood Road, N.W. 1.*  
 Magonigle, A. van Buren, 101, *Park Avenue, New York City, U.S.A.*  
 Manley, E. R., 60, *St. Cross Road, Winchester.*  
 Moxey, Mrs., *Framingham Hall, Norwich.*  
 Nash, Miss Gladys, 2, *Wadham Gardens, N.W. 3.*  
 Newton, Miss A. A., *Lanehead, Woodhead Road, Glossop.*  
 Nightingale, A., *Bramston House, Oundle, Northants.*  
 Phipps, Miss M. E. A., 64, *Endwell Road, Brockley, S.E. 4.*  
 Popham, Miss M. E., *County School, Chatham.*  
 Powell, W. H., 350, *Maddeson Avenue, New York City, U.S.A.*  
 Price, Eli K., *City Hall, Philadelphia, Penn., U.S.A.*  
 Reinach, M. Theodore, *Villa Kerylos, Beaulieu-sur-Mer, Alpes Maritimes, France.*  
 Rhead, F. H., 45, *Muskingum Avenue, Zanesville, Ohio, U.S.A.*

**Elected 1922** (*continued*)

Robertson, R. A. F. S., *The Manse, Old Cummock.*  
 Rush, Mrs., *Albemarle Club, 37, Dover Street, W. 1.*  
 Scott, J. E., *Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge*  
 Smith, H. R. W., *St. Francis Xavier's University, Antigonish, N.S., Canada.*  
 Simkins, R. M., *Manchester Grammar School, Long Millgate, Manchester.*  
 Solon, Paul H., *16 East 41st Street, New York City, U.S.A.*  
 Solon, L. V., *16 East 41st Street, New York City, U.S.A.*  
 Totten, Major Geo. Oakley, jun., *2633, 16th Street, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.*  
 Volonakis, Dr. Michael, *7, Spring Street, Paddington, W.*  
 Walker, Miss M. E., *119, Edmund Road, Hastings.*  
 Walmsley, Mrs., *Skeyness, Edenbridge, Kent.*  
 Winslow, Mrs. Frederick, *275, Clarendon Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.*

**SUBSCRIBING LIBRARIES.**

**Elected 1922.**

**GREAT BRITAIN.**

**Holborn**, Public Library, *198, High Holborn, W.C. 1.*  
**Lutterworth Grammar School**, *Leicestershire.*  
**Swansea**, The Library of the University College, *Swansea.*

**AUSTRALIA.**

**Melbourne**, The Library of the High School, *Spring Street, Melbourne, Australia.*

## PROCEEDINGS

## SESSION 1921-1922

DURING the past Session the following Meetings were held :—

- (1) November 8th, 1921. Mr. H. I. Bell : *Hellenism in Egypt* (see below, p. xviii).
- (2) December 16th, 1921. Hasluck Memorial Meeting : Mr. N. H. Baynes, Prof. Lethaby and the Librarian (see below, p. xviii).
- (3) February 14th, 1922. Mr. Arthur Hamilton Smith : *The frieze from Aphrodisias in the British Museum* (see below, p. xix).
- (4) March 21st, 1922 (Students' Meeting). Mr. E. J. Forsdyke : *The decorative art of Prehistoric Greek Pottery* (see below, p. xix).
- (5) May 9th, 1922. Symposium in honour of the publication by Sir Arthur Evans of the *Palace of Minos*, Vol. I. Mr. Th. Fyfe, Dr. H. R. Hall and Mr. D. G. Hogarth (see below, p. xx).
- (6) The ANNUAL MEETING was held at Burlington House on Tuesday, June 13th, 1922, Sir Frederic Kenyon, President of the Society, occupying the chair.

Mr. George A Macmillan, Treasurer of the Society, presented the following Report for the Session 1921-22.

The Council would be failing in their duty if they did not state in the forefront of their report that the Society's income does not yet keep pace with its activities.

Account of these is given below. The *Journal* is, as it was, the best thing of its kind : meetings are better attended : the Library grows increasingly useful : and there are nearly twice as many members as before the war. Yet the devastating fact remains that, after not unsuccessful attempts to do double work on half rations, normal expenditure exceeds normal income at the rate of £300 a year. How is this to be countered ? Appeals for large sums of money are at once unbecoming the time and unproductive in themselves. On the other hand, the public will still support with guinea subscriptions a Society which gives good value for the money—provided that they know of its existence. Here the endeavour of our present members to make our work known is our best asset. Perhaps these are the hardest years. But the Society is not, nor ever should be, a paying proposition : it is a mission, and should be served as such.

**Obituary.**—The Society has sustained the loss by death of two Vice-Presidents, Viscount Bryce and Professor Henry Jackson ; an original member of the Council, Mr. Ernest Myers ; and three hon. members, Monseigneur Duchesne, Dr. K. F. Kinch and Professor Carl Robert. Special mention should also be made of the death of the following :—Dr. Henry Boyd, Mr. H. T. Gerrans, the Earl of Halsbury, Mr. Walter Morrison, F. W. Sanderson, Prof. F. B. Tarbell and the Rev. A. W. Upcott.

TO THE  
 UNIVERSITY OF PADUA  
 FROM THE  
 SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION  
 OF HELLENIC STUDIES, LONDON



**T**HE Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies desires to offer its most sincere congratulations to the University of Padua on the occasion of the celebration of its seven hundredth anniversary. In common with all English scholars, it recognises the debt which England in the Middle Ages owed to the famous Universities of Italy. In particular it recalls that it was at Padua, and within the first generation after the foundation of the University, that the first translation of the Problems of Aristotle was made by Pietro d'Abano, and that for a long period Padua was the home of Aristotelian philosophy. When the study of Greek was reviving in England in the sixteenth century, it was to Padua that many Englishmen went in order to acquire the new learning.

To Italy, as the land of the Renaissance, all lovers of Greek studies are for ever bound in affectionate remembrance. Italy, the home of classical tradition and the fountain-head of modern art, has always held a peculiar place in the heart of England: and the political events of the nineteenth, and again of the twentieth century have drawn yet closer those bonds of sentiment, which are more powerful than the bonds of interest. It is therefore with warm sympathy that the Society greets your ancient and honourable home of learning on this auspicious occasion, and wishes you a future no less distinguished than the glorious past which you now commemorate.

On behalf of the Council,

*Frederic G. Kenyon*

President.

April 1922.

**Changes on the Council.**—The Council have recently nominated Miss Jane Harrison, Prof. J. L. Myres and Mrs. S. Arthur Strong for election as Vice-Presidents of the Society, and Mr. S. Casson, Mr. M. Holroyd and Prof. A. C. Pearson as members of the Council.

**Relations with other Bodies.**—The Society has renewed its financial grants to the British Schools in Athens and Rome. It views with pleasure the revival of the activities of both Schools after the war. Interesting publications are expected from them both, the long promised *Excavations at Palaiakastro* from the School at Athens, and the reproduction in facsimile of a seventeenth-century artist's sketches of the pictures of his day, from the School in Rome.

The friendliest relations continue with the sister Society for the promotion of Roman studies. It is not always realised that the resources of both Societies at Bloomsbury Square are open to any member of either. A small restriction, framed in the interest of both bodies, is that a member of one Society is entitled to borrow three books only at a time, while members of both are allowed six and upwards.

The Council has recently addressed to the University of Padua on the occasion of its 700th birthday an expression of the Society's congratulations and goodwill. (A reduced facsimile of this address appears on the opposite page.)

Messrs. Baynes, Beazley, Bell, Forsdyke, Gardiner, Last, Livingstone, Sheppard and Ure have been appointed by the Council as a sub-Committee to deal with the question of the further popularisation of the classics. They are working with a similar Committee appointed by the Roman Society.

- (1) **Meetings.**—On Tuesday, Nov. 8th, at the first General Meeting of the Society for the session, Mr. H. I. Bell read a paper on 'Hellenism in Egypt.'

Taking as his text the earliest extant non-literary Greek papyrus, dated in 311-10 B.C., which, he showed, was typical of the conditions of that period, he propounded the problem: given a minority of Greek settlers, not organised in *poleis*, but scattered among an alien majority and subjects of a monarchy which, however much coloured by Hellenic culture, was Egyptian and absolute in character, what would be the fate of Hellenism in such surroundings? On the one side he illustrated the Hellenism of the settlers, on the other their Egyptian environment and the syncretism of religion and culture which was already beginning in the third century B.C., and traced the gradual strengthening of the Egyptian elements and the simultaneous weakening of the distinctively Greek elements throughout the Ptolemaic period. The Roman conquest brought some advantage to Hellenism, since the Romans differentiated sharply between Greeks and Egyptians and gave the former a privileged position. In particular the status of the *metropoleis* tended to rise and to be assimilated in fact, though not in law, to that of the Greek *poleis* or Roman *municipia*, until at the beginning of the third century they actually received senates. But the Hellenism of Roman Egypt was largely superficial; the population was much mixed, the culture did not go very deep, and a steady economic decay was threatening the position of the middle classes, and with that the existence of Hellenism. The general adoption of Christianity in the fourth century was a further blow to Hellenism, which to the Christian Copts was, on the one hand, pagan, on the other the expression of an alien culture, the representative of the Byzantine Government; on both grounds detested. Relics of Hellenic culture survived all through the Byzantine Age, but grew ever slighter, and the Greek language was maintained largely because it was the instrument of administration. Hence, after the Arab conquest it soon perished, and Egypt became once more merged in the Oriental world from which the genius of Alexander had separated it.

- The proceedings closed after observations by the President and Mr. N. H. Baynes.  
(2) On Tuesday, Dec. 16th, was held the first Students' Meeting of the Session. This was devoted to the memory of the late F. W. Hasluck, sometime Assistant

Director of the British School at Athens, and a frequent contributor to the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.

After Mr. Penoyre had given particulars of Mr. Hasluck's posthumous works and sundry personal recollections of their author, Mr. N. H. Baynes contributed a short address on the development of East Roman asceticism. He accentuated the importance of the *Life of Antony* by Athanasius as the great classic of Christian monasticism, and sketched the rise of the cœnobitic ideal with Pachomius and its full development with S. Basil. He traced the strength of the eremitic conception of asceticism in Palestine, and from the legislation of Justinian on monasticism turned to the period of the Iconoclast Controversy and to the rise of Athos as the centre of the ascetic devotion of the Eastern Church. He sketched the constitutional changes in the government of the monastic republic and attempted in a few words to characterise the contemplative spirit of orthodox asceticism—its supreme goal the beatific vision of God.

From such a paper there emerged the real need for a general study of monasticism in the East Roman Empire. The works (*inter alios*) of Leclercq, Holl, Clarke, Tougard, Dobroklonsky, Nissen, Lake and Meyer had laid the foundations, the publication of Byzantine typika by Dmitrievsky, Petit and Delehaye and of hagiographical documents especially by Kurtz and Clugnet had provided new material: the time seemed ripe for a comprehensive treatment. Was there no British scholar to attempt the task?

Prof. Lethaby then showed by means of the lantern the long and beautiful series of photographs taken by Mr. Hasluck of the monasteries of Mount Athos. He emphasised throughout the natural, homely and unacademic character of these buildings, in contrast with the mechanical productions of the later Russianising period.

The communications were listened to by a large audience, and the whole meeting was a not unworthy memorial of a fine scholar and loved personality.

- (3) The second General Meeting was held on Tuesday, Feb. 14th, 1922, when Mr. Arthur Smith described the frieze from Aphrodisias in the British Museum.

The recently acquired friezes from the Gymnasium at Aphrodisias (and other sculptures from Aphrodisias now at Constantinople) showed the climax of the decorative system which is based on the running scroll of acanthus. This could be traced from its first origin in the fifth century B.C., when the acanthus leaf was added to the palmette. During the two following centuries the scroll form was increasingly used, especially in architectural decorations, and on Hellenistic vases. At the beginning of the Roman Empire the pure acanthus scroll was fully developed. The addition of half figures to the flowers belongs to the Augustan period (Vitruvius, VII. 5, 'Coliculi dimidiata habentes sigilla'). In the first and second centuries the half figures became whole figures, and groups, surrounded by acanthus scrolls, from which they tended to free themselves. In its various forms, especially the acanthus scroll pure and simple, and the acanthus combined with figures, the decorative motive could be traced in many later arts, *e. g.* Coptic, Early Christian, Byzantine, Buddhist, and Celtic.

The President, Prof. Lethaby, and Sir Henry Howorth offered observations after the paper.

- (4) On Tuesday, March 21st, 1922, at the second Students' Meeting, Mr. E. J. Forsdyke showed the lantern slides in the Society's collection illustrating the Decorative Art of Prehistoric Greek Pottery. Besides the better-known Cycladic and Minoan vases, the subjects chosen represented the art of the newly identified Helladic culture of the Greek Mainland and the neolithic pottery of Thessaly and Macedonia. The principles of decoration and their development were followed in each case, and particular attention was given to the influence of material upon the shape and ornamentation of the vessel.

This communication, like others given at previous Students' Meetings, was based on the Society's existing resources for illustration. It is proposed that at the

next Students' Meeting Mr. Forsdyke's paper should be followed by a similar exhibition of the slides which the Society has accumulated covering the black-figured period of vase-painting. Some of these are very good and seldom used.

- (5) The third General Meeting of the Session was held on May 9th, 1922. This was convened to celebrate the publication of the first volume of the long expected work on the Palace of Minos by Sir Arthur Evans.

Mr. Arthur Smith (V.P.) having taken the chair, Prof. J. P. Droop gave a general summary of the contents of the book, illustrated by lantern slides. These included all the plates in colour, the beauty and interest of which were highly appreciated by a crowded audience.

Mr. Th. Fyfe then offered some observations on Minoan architectural mouldings in stucco. Starting with the remarkable libation table from Psychro, which he characterised as not merely a table but an architectonic motive adapted to a table, he proceeded to illustrate and discuss the stone slabs and rosettes from Knossos. A peculiar feature of these was the careful finish given to back as well as front. In a stone seat from Phaestos he saw a direct suggestion of the triglyph and metope of the Greek Doric frieze. Perhaps the highest achievement of the Minoan architect, in the treatment of detail, was to be found in a tiny mould, apparently for casting a series of juxtaposed brackets, showing double or ogee curves. Mr. Fyfe concluded by showing various slides illustrating architectonic motives in frescoes from Knossos.

Dr. H. R. Hall contributed observations on the relations between the Minoan civilisation and ancient Egypt. He said he should confine himself on this occasion to an appreciation of what Sir Arthur Evans had done in this book to make plain to all the fact of the early cultural connexion between Crete and Egypt, and the history of its development up to the time of the Hyksos king whose inscribed alabaster lid had been found at Knossos. Dr. Hall said that Sir Arthur's volume stopped short just at a most interesting time, for the most recent discoveries had thrown new light upon the history of the ancient world of the Near East, and we now had not only Egyptian civilisation impinging from the beginning on that of Greece, but the Hittite and the Babylonian were now apparently preparing to invade the Aegean sphere, and even the Assyrian, if we could trust the asserted results of certain recent researches, was at a quite early period so active in Asia Minor as to alter our ideas of the early history of that part of the world and open up various new, if still vague, possibilities. However this last novelty might eventually turn out, there are certainly now possibilities of an artistic and cultural connexion between the Aegean area and Babylonia in the third millennium B.C. which will have to be reckoned with seriously, though it may be found to confine itself to the realm of relief sculpture and glyptic: Babylonian influence in the fact of the use of the clay tablet possibly had always been apparent, and if one idea could come from Mesopotamia to the Aegean, so could others. Egypt, therefore, though not challenged in her pride of place as the most potent overseas influence on prehistoric Greek culture, would seem to have been not the only influence of the kind.

One could not be too sufficiently grateful to Sir Arthur Evans for the illuminating way in which he had presented the facts of this Egyptian connexion and influence, even if perhaps we were inclined to doubt whether he was not inclined occasionally to be *aegyptius ipsis aegyptior*. His unqualified acceptance of M. Weill's view of M. Jondet's stated discovery of ancient moles and other now submarine works in the harbour of Alexandria as relics of a prehistoric Aegean monumental harbour might seem to be a case in point: one would like to have some confirmation of these works and definite assurance of their date before treating them as proof positive of a great and flourishing commerce between Greece and Egypt in early days which demanded harbour-works for its accommodation, whether built by Egyptians or Aegeans, of gigantic size. The connexion is a fact; but is the date of these works certain?

One thing Sir Arthur had done for the first time. He had brought Minoan Greece to the assistance of Egypt in the matter of disputed chronology. His work on the Middle Minoan period showed very clearly the difficulty in accepting Professor Petrie's view of an enormously long period of time between the XIIth and the XVIIIth Dynasty; the Cretan evidence was all in favour of the shorter chronology. So Cretan discovery repaid the help which in the past Egyptian research had given in the task of establishing the approximate chronology of prehistoric Greek civilisation.

After further remarks by Mr. D. G. Hogarth the chairman summed up the debt which the Society, and archaeologists generally, owed to Sir Arthur Evans for his long and successful labour, and offered him warmest congratulations on the fine instalment now published.

**The Joint Library and Photographic Collections.**—The following figures indicate the scope of the Society's work in this department for this session and its predecessor

	1920-21	1921-22
Books taken out .....	1,382	1,520
*Books added to the Library .....	315	311
Slides hired .....	6,125	8,343
Slides sold to members .....	621	1,299
Photographs sold to members .....	127	555
Slides added to the collection .....	213	820

The Council acknowledge with thanks recently published books from H.M. Government of India, the Trustees of the British Museum, the British Academy, the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, the Carnegie Institution at Washington, the Catholic University of America, the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston, Bryn Mawr College, the University Presses of California, Cambridge, Chicago, Illinois, Manchester, Oxford, Princeton, and Wisconsin, C. H. Beck, G. Bell & Sons, B. H. Blackwell, E. de Boccard, Chatto & Windus, Jacob Dybwad, Fontemoing et Cie., P. Geuthner, Walter de Gruyter & Co., S. Hirzel, A. Holder, Henry Holt & Co., C. Klincksieck, E. Leroux, Macmillan & Co., Marcus & Weber, F. Meiner, Methuen & Co., J. Murray, P. Noordhoff, Töpelmann, H. Vaillant-Carmanne, Weidmann, Williams & Norgate, and Zanichelli.

The following have also kindly given books: Prof. A. Andreades, Signor G. Bagnani, Rev. J. E. Barton, G. Bernadakes, E. M. Blake, Dr. A. Boethius, R. C. Bosanquet, W. H. Buckler, Prof. R. M. Dawkins, Prof. E. Drerup, J. Ebersolt, Sir Arthur Evans, E. J. Forsdyke, W. S. George, D. A. Glenos, H. R. Hall, G. F. Hill, Sir Frederic Kenyon, B. Lavagnini, Dr. T. S. Lea, J. F. Leutz-Spitta, M. Montgomery, Prof. H. J. Rose, C. T. Seltman, J. Sölch, Prof. F. Studniczka, Prof. J. Svoronos, W. W. Tarn, F. J. Tausend, Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler, Dr. Wiegand, Dr. A. Wilhelm, and Dr. Paul Wolters.

Accessions of special interest are: the complete publication of the *Excavations at Assos* (one of many donations from the Library's most generous helper, Mr. W. H. Buckler), the first instalment of Dr. Wiegand's monumental *Baalbek*, Bieber's *Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum*, and Sir Arthur Evans's *Palace of Minos*, Vol. I. The Loeb classical texts are now complete to date.

One of the most valuable assets of the Library is the large number of periodicals which it receives. Of these there are now over 100 in working order and up to date. The last fascicules of the more important are conveniently arranged for consultation.

Attention is also drawn to the Society's collection of nearly 3000 pamphlets, containing material difficult to find elsewhere. They are catalogued, both under author and subject, in the General catalogues.

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\* Exclusive of periodicals.



The combined detailed index of the Volumes of the *Journal* subsequent to Volume XVI, 1896, is in progress and will, it is hoped, be ready to appear in an early issue of the *Journal*. The Society owes this important index to the protracted labours of Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Smith. The outline index of the whole *Journal* (articles and authors) maintained in the Library has been brought up to date. The promised index of the separate articles in the *in honorem* collections is far advanced.

The whole of the collection of negatives has been checked, and put into new envelopes and boxes on a plan which makes every individual negative readily accessible. As this collection consists of upwards of 10,000 items, ranging from tiny films to glasses two feet square, the work involved has been considerable. Practically the whole of this has been carried out by Members of the 'Association of Friends of the Library.' This body, recently formed with the Hon. Librarian as Chairman, is, as the name implies, a band of voluntary helpers coming for the most part of one day a week. The members are: Miss G. Ainslie, Mr. and Mrs. E. P. Baily, Mrs. Barge, Miss A. Bruce, Miss C. Chapin, Miss J. E. Chitty, Mrs. Culley, Miss Geare, Miss E. M. Marriage, Mrs. Grafton Milne, and Miss G. Nash. Miss K. M. Horsfall, Miss C. M. Knight and Mr. Paul Hopkinson have given occasional valued help.

The Society at large is probably unaware of how much it owes to this association. Year by year the scale of operations grows at Bloomsbury Square, and it is not too much to say that no section of the work could be adequately maintained and developed without the help given by its members. Their presence also makes it possible for the Librarian to get away occasionally.

By far the most notable addition to the collections during the year has been a munificent donation of over 1000 topographical negatives from Mr. Shirley C. Atchley, of Athens. The larger part of these were taken in Northern Greece and the Peloponnesus, and they embrace several little known sites. The President transmitted to Mr. Atchley the sincere thanks of the Council and the Society for this important gift. Prints of all the negatives have now been added to the collections.

Donations are also acknowledged from Miss G. Ainslie (the donor of a valuable collection formed by her father, the late Mr. R. S. Ainslie, a life member of the Society), Mr. St. Clair Baddeley, the British School at Athens, Prof. H. E. Butler, the Colchester Museum, Mr. Talfourd Ely, Messrs. E. S. Forster, R. H. Forster, C. R. Haines, P. Hasluck, G. F. Hill, M. Holroyd, and Mr. and Mrs. Grafton Milne.

Considerable additions have been made to the Sets of Slides for popular lectures. The Societies owe a debt to Mr. G. H. Hallam, who has organised the preparation of six sets, mainly on Roman subjects. These are: *The Roman Forum*, *The Campagna*, *Horace*, *Pompeii*, *Sicily*, and *Roman Britain*. They have the distinctive feature of being accompanied by a typed lecture written by a recognised authority on the subject. The Hellenic Society proposes to add similar lectures to its existing Sets on *Athens*, *Olympia*, *The Prehellenic Age*, *Architecture*, *Sculpture*, and *The Ancient Theatre*.

The Council approves of this departure and begs Mr. Hallam to accept their thanks for the successful pains he has given to starting the movement.

The quarto collection of pictures and photographs is now at last accessible (in the Librarian's room on the top floor). In any collection of this kind the first need is a good framework. The essentials are that any one photograph must be immediately accessible, the subject order must be strictly observed and the framework must be susceptible of indefinite expansion. These conditions are now fulfilled.

The Society greatly misses the skilled and generous help of the late F. W. Hasluck in this department. Year by year on his travels he maintained the habit of buying up photographs of interest and presenting them for this collection. We shall be grateful if members on their travels will bear this point in mind. Good topographical views and photographs of works of art in local museums are specially

asked for. Members presenting photographs will have the satisfaction of knowing that they are intelligently treated and properly cared for.

The collection of larger drawings will be proceeded with as soon as the negatives at present occupying the space can be moved to their permanent home.

**Finance.**—The Statement of Accounts for the financial year ending December 31st, 1921, apart from the sum of £100 written off for depreciation of stock of the *Journal*, shows a deficit of £42. Considering the difficulties of the times, this must be considered a satisfactory result. The outstanding feature on the expenditure side is, of course, the cost of production of the *Journal*, and it seems improbable that the cost can be appreciably reduced in the near future. The special sales of back volumes to members amounted to a considerable sum (hence the depreciation above referred to), which, *while materially reducing the deficit balance this year, will not be forthcoming again.* In order to compare the present financial position with pre-war days the following tables showing the principal items of expenditure and ordinary sources of revenue have been prepared :—

(a) The years 1913 and 1914 (normal conditions in pre-war days). (b) The year 1919 (when costs were highest and income at its lowest. In this year the *Journal* was issued in one part only, and hardly anything spent on the Library). (c) The years 1920 and 1921 (showing the results to date of the efforts made, beginning in December 1919, to overcome the difficulties caused by the war)

## EXPENDITURE.

	(a)		(b)	(c)	
	1913	1914	1919	1920	1921
Journal.....	563	662	685	992	1,172
Slides and Photographs....	71	63	42	71	93
Rent.....	205	205	205	205	205
Salaries.....	267	279	272	376	417
Grants.....	150	150	100	110	120
Various Expenses.....	239	213	204	506	389
Library.....	84	90	21	142	138
	<u>£1,579</u>	<u>£1,662</u>	<u>£1,529</u>	<u>£2,402</u>	<u>£2,534</u>

## INCOME.

	1913	1914	1919	1920	1921
Journal (Sales and Advertisements).....	160	154	111	172	462
Slides and Photographs....	74	75	38	73	110
Subscriptions (Members and Libraries).....	1,223	1,156	923	1,542	1,593
Rents.....	75	85	201	110	180
Dividends.....	62	68	91	81	100
Interest.....	9	12	—	45	41
	<u>£1,603</u>	<u>£1,550</u>	<u>£1,364</u>	<u>£2,023</u>	<u>£2,486</u>

(The above figures do not include donations to the War Emergency Fund or to the Endowment Fund.)

The total amount of Investments of Receipts for Life Compositions and Donations to the Endowment Fund was :—

1913	1914	1919	1920	1921
<u>£1763</u>	<u>£1954</u>	<u>£2054</u>	<u>£2054</u>	<u>£2554</u>

During the session a generous donation of £100 was received for the Endowment Fund from a member who prefers to remain anonymous.

The number of members and subscribing Libraries now on the books shows an increase of nearly 500 as compared with 1913, and this in spite of the heavy loss caused by the war.

For the last two years it must be remembered that the policy has not been to give less and charge more, but to revert to pre-war standards without increasing the Annual Subscription. So far this has been justified by the results; donations to the War Emergency Fund, increase of membership and increased subscriptions by some of the old members have made it financially possible to carry on, and funds already in hand are sufficient to meet this year's requirements, although the deficit will no doubt be heavier than last year.

**It is obvious that, if the Society is to be successfully carried on, much will have to be done in the near future to secure additional income. It is desirable to increase rather than restrict its activities, and to this end the assistance of all members is earnestly invited either by the introduction of new members, increasing subscriptions wherever possible, or by sending donations to the Endowment Fund.**

The President in the course of his address laid stress on the loss to the Society occasioned by the death of two of its Honorary Members, Monseigneur F. Duchesne and Dr. Hermann Diels. He concluded by moving the adoption of the Report, which was seconded by Mr. J. M. Paton, and, being put to the Meeting, carried unanimously.

The President then announced the following elections and re-elections:—

#### ELECTIONS.

*As Vice-Presidents:* Miss Jane Harrison, Prof. John Linton Myres, Mrs. S. Arthur Strong.

*As Members of the Council:* Mr. Stanley Casson, Mr. Michael Holroyd, Prof. A. C. Pearson.

#### RE-ELECTIONS.

The Vice-Presidents of the Society.

The following Members of Council: Rev. Prof. H. Browne, Mr. A. M. Daniel, Prof. R. M. Dawkins, Prof. J. P. Droop, Mr. Talfourd Ely, Mr. Th. Fyfe, Prof. P. Ure.

Mrs. S. Arthur Strong, Assistant-Director of the British School at Rome, then gave to the Meeting Professor Amelung's account of his recovery in the *magazzino*, or basement, of the Vatican of a number of sculptures which included several dating from the finest period of Greek art. Mrs. Strong's letter to *The Times*, giving particulars of this discovery, is, by courtesy of the paper, here reproduced.

'This notable find is the result of researches undertaken by Professor Amelung, who has resumed his work on the third volume of the great official catalogue of the Vatican sculptures, and it is thanks to his liberality and to that of the Director-General of the Pontifical Galleries, Professor B. Nogara, that I received permission to make the best pieces known in England.

'Though the majority are only fragments, they are all remarkable for the freshness of their surface, and owing to the absence of all restoration are especially valuable to artists and archaeologists desirous to study Greek technique. They include the head of a Lapith from a metope of the Parthenon, which doubtless found its way from Athens to Rome by way of Venice; the best replica so far known of the head of the Phidian Anacreon, a famous work that once stood on the Athenian Acropolis; the replica, on a colossal scale, of the head of the Hermes *propylaios* of Alcámenes. The Hermes stood "at the gates" of the Acropolis, and there is much to commend Professor Amelung's view that the original was probably itself on this large

scale, so as not to be dwarfed by its monumental surroundings. A fourth fragment connected with the Acropolis is the fresh and delicately carved head of Athena from a copy of Myron's "Athena and Marsyas."

' Besides these four pieces, all representative of the best Attic art in Athens, there is much else from the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. I may note a fine fragment of a head which, from its close likeness to the Nike of Olympia, must be attributed to Paionios of Mende; further, there are excellent replicas of the heads of the "Apollo on the Omphalos"; of one of the Charites from the group of the sculptor Socrates; of the Sappho, corresponding to the "portrait" of the poetess on the coins of Lesbos. Of the so-called "Phaon" in Madrid, we have among the new Vatican fragments a replica of such beauty that it is difficult not to believe it to be an original of Pheidias date.

' Of great interest is a new variant of the Aphrodite of Cnidus by Praxiteles, in which the vase stands on the ground, and the drapery is treated in long straight, almost archaic folds. Among examples of the later Greek schools are a replica of the head of the "Silenus carrying the infant Dionysus"; a life-like rendering of the "baby with the goose," the original of which stood in the Temple of Cos and was described by the poet Herodas; a charming head of Eros (?), of the Hellenistic period, another example of which exists at Petworth; a fragment of quite peculiar interest representing a composite divinity armed with sword, trident, and thunderbolt, while an eagle perched on a huge cornucopia fills up the composition on the left.

' Among the reliefs are two of fourth-century date: one a well-preserved *stèle* of a lady with her maid (more probably Demeter and Persephone); the other a better and earlier replica (it might be a fragment of the original) of the left-hand portion of the relief of the Muses in the Chigi Palace at Siena.

' A number of Greek and Roman portrait heads are mostly of types so far unknown. Among the numerous Roman portraits one of the time of Tiberius representing a middle-aged man deserves special attention for the amazing freshness of the technique and the great beauty of modelling and silhouette.

' The preservation of these antiques is certainly due to the fact that when the Vatican collections were formed only statues and busts that could be used in a decorative manner were appreciated and selected for exhibition, while the examples now described, being of too fragmentary a character to attract the restorer, were tossed aside and left for more than a century buried under veritable rubbish heaps.

' I should like, in conclusion, to mention likewise the finds recently made under the auspices of the Italian Government at Formia, where six statues of early Imperial date, all admirably preserved, were recently unearthed. One with the head of a young Julio-Claudian prince of singular beauty, who resembles Augustus in his prime, reproduces the body of the famous Lansdowne Hermes; another—a togate statue—is, again, of an unknown Imperial personage; the pose and every detail of costume and drapery are those of the Augustus from the Via Labicana. At Ostia, among a number of fragments which had evidently been destined to the lime-kiln, there was found this winter an admirable statue of a young girl, figured as Diana, with individual and characteristic features. According to its discoverer, Dr. Calza, it may be of the Flavian period; whatever its date, it is certainly one of the most beautiful works of art found in recent excavations.

' Altogether it is many years since our knowledge of classical art has been so enriched as by the Roman and other Italian finds of the last twelve months.'

The warm thanks of the Meeting were accorded to Mrs. Strong for her communication, and to Professor Amelung and Professor Nogara for the materials, including the admirable slides, generously placed at her disposal.

DR. 'JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES' ACCOUNT FROM JANUARY 1, 1921, TO DECEMBER 31, 1921. CR.

To Printing and Paper. Vol. XL.	£	s.	d.
" Plates	751	16	5
" Drawing and Engraving	96	6	0
" Editing and Reviews	46	9	1
" Packing, Addressing, and Carriage to Members	82	5	0
	195	5	5
	<hr/>		
	£	1172	1 11

By Sales, including back Vols.	£	s.	d.
Per Macmillan & Co., Ltd.	124	5	5
" Hellenic Society	325	4	0
	<hr/>		
" Receipts from Advertisements	449	9	5
Balance to Income and Expenditure Account	13	0	0
	709	12	6
	<hr/>		
	£	1172	1 11

## LANTERN SLIDES AND PHOTOGRAPHS ACCOUNT.

	<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
To Slides and Photographs for Sale.....	63	16	1
" Slides for Hire .....	4	6	5½
" Photographs for Reference Collection .....	24	11	5½
" Balance to Income and Expenditure Account.....	17	11	5
	<i>£</i> 110	5	5

FROM JANUARY 1, 1921, TO DECEMBER 31, 1921.

By Receipts from Sales and Hire .....	£	s.	d.
„ „ .....	102	11	10
„ „ Sale of Catalogues .....	7	13	7
	<hr/>		
	£	110	5 5

## LIBRARY ACCOUNT. FROM JANUARY 1, 1921, TO DECEMBER 31, 1921.

To Purchases .....	£	s.	d.
" Binding .....	50	14	4
	9	10	0
	<hr/>		
	£141	4	4

## INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT. FROM JANUARY 1, 1921, TO DECEMBER 31, 1921.

<i>Expenditure.</i>		<i>Income.</i>	
<i>£</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
10 Rent .....	205 5 0		
" Salaries—			
Librarian and Secretary .....	180 0 0	By Members' Subscriptions—	
Assistant Treasurer .....	50 0 0	Arrears .....	39 14 6
Librarian .....	187 17 3	1921 .....	1206 5 0
Typist, &c. ....			1245 19 6
Insurance .....	417 17 3	" Members' Entrance Fees .....	37 16 0
" Miscellaneous Expenses .....	5 6 5	" Libraries' Subscriptions—	
" Stationery .....	64 18 2	Arrears .....	28 6 0
" Postage .....	90 18 7	1921 .....	239 7 0
" Sundry Printing, Rules, List of Members,	80 16 10½		267 13 0
Notices, &c. ....	80 14 11	Life Compositions brought into Revenue	
" Heating, Lighting, and Cleaning Library	60 15 0	Account .....	42 0 0
" Grants—		Dividends on Investments .....	100 7 1
British School at Athens .....	100 0 0	Interest on Deposit Account .....	40 19 5
Rome .....	10 10 0	Contributed towards Rent by British School	
Excavations in Bavaria .....	10 0 0	at Athens and British School at Rome for	
		use of Society's room .....	20 0 0
		Rent of room occupied by the Royal Archaeo-	
		logical Institute .....	10 0 0
		Rent received from Lady Roberts' Field	
		Glass Fund .....	60 0 0
		Contributed by the Society for Promotion	
		of Roman Studies .....	40 0 0
Balance from Library Account .....	137 15 2	Rent from English Jersey Cattle Society .....	50 0 0
" Balance from 'Journal of Hellenic Studies'	709 12 6	Donations to War Emergency Fund .....	4 10 0
" Account .....	100 12 0	Sale of Excavations at Phylakopi .....	2 0 0
" Depreciation of Stocks of publications .....		Balance from Lantern Slides and Photo-	
		graphs Account .....	17 11 5
		Balance .....	142 5 5½
			£2081 1 10½

# BALANCE SHEET. DECEMBER 31, 1921.

<i>Liabilities.</i>		<i>Assets.</i>	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To Debts Payable .....	777 0 8	By Cash in Hand—Bank .....	838 17 7
" Subscriptions paid in advance .....	45 17 0	Assistant Treasurer .....	18 5 10
" Endowment Fund .....	907 11 0	Petty Cash .....	24 11 11½
(includes legacy of £200 from the late Canon Adam Farrar and £200 from the late Rev. H. F. Tozer)			881 15 4½
" Emergency Fund (Library Fittings and Furniture) .....	394 18 6	Debts Receivable .....	285 15 1
Total Received .....		Investments (Life Compositions) .....	1854 3 11
" Life Compositions and Donations—		" (Endowment Fund) .....	800 0 0
Total at Jan. 1, 1921 .....	2261 14 0		2654 3 11
Received during year .....	31 10 0	Less Reserved against Depreciation .....	100 0 0
	2293 4 0		2554 3 11
Less carried to Income and Expenditure Account—Members deceased .....	42 0 0	Emergency Fund—Total Expended .....	420 0 0
	653 15 6	Valuations of Stocks of Publications .....	346 12 0
" Surplus Balance at Jan. 1, 1921 .....	2251 4 0	" Library .....	350 0 0
Less Deficit Balance from Income and Expenditure Account .....	142 5 5½	Expenses 'Strabo' carried forward .....	1 1 10
		Paper in hand for printing Journal .....	42 13 0
Surplus Balance at December 31, 1921 .....	511 10 0½		
			£4888 1 2½

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Examined and found correct. (Signed) C. F. CLAY.  
 W. E. F. MACMILLAN.

# NINETEENTH LIST OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

ADDED TO THE  
LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY  
SINCE THE PUBLICATION OF THE CATALOGUE.

1921—1922

*With this list are incorporated books belonging to the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies. These are distinguished by R.S.*

NOTE.—The supply of the original Catalogues (1903) is now exhausted, but copies may be had on loan. The accession lists can still be purchased on application.

- Adam (R.)** De Herodoti ratione historica, quaestiones selectae sive de pugna Salamina atque Plataeensi.  
8 $\frac{3}{4}$  × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ . Berlin. 1890.
- Aeschylus.** Four plays of Aeschylus, rendered into English verse by G. M. Cookson.  
7 $\frac{1}{2}$  × 5. Oxford. 1922.
- Alexandria.** Rapport sur la marche du service du musée pendant l'exercice, 1919–1920. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$  × 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ . Alexandria. 1921.
- Allinson (F. G.)** *Translator.* See Menander.
- Alviella (G. d')** Une initiation aux Mystères d'Eleusis dans les premiers siècles de notre ère. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$  × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ . Brussels. 1902.
- Ameringer (T. E.)** A Study in Greek Rhetoric: the stylistic influence of the second sophistic on the panegyrical sermons of St. John Chrysostom. 9 × 6. Washington. 1921.
- Andersen (I.)** *Translator.* See Poulsen (F.).
- Andler (C.)** Le pessimisme esthétique de Nietzsche, sa philosophie à l'époque Wagnérienne. 9 × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ . Paris. 1921.
- Andréadès (A.)** Henry Monnier. [Byz.—Neugriech. Jahrb. 2.]  
9 $\frac{1}{2}$  × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Berlin. 1921.
- Andréadès (A.)** Le montant du budget de l'empire byzantin.  
10 × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Paris. 1922.
- Andréadès (A.)** La vénalité des offices, est-elle d'origine byzantine?  
9 × 6. Paris. 1921.
- Apollodorus,** The Library. With English translation by J. G. Frazer. [Loeb Class. Libr.] 2 vols. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$  × 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ . 1921.
- Aratus.** See Callimachus.
- Aristotle.** περὶ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς. Ed. H. H. Joachim.  
9 $\frac{1}{2}$  × 6. Oxford. 1922.
- Aristotle.** The works of Aristotle translated into English.  
De caelo: de generatione et corruptione. Ed. J. L. Stocks.  
9 × 6. Oxford. 1922.



- Aristotle.** Lehre vom Beweis. (German translation of the *Analytica Posteriora*. By E. Rolfes.)  $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5$ . Leipsic. 1922.
- Aristotle.** Lehre vom Schluss (German translation by E. Rolfes.)  $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5$ . Leipsic. 1922.
- Aristotle.** Politik. (German translation by E. Rolfes.)  $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5$ . Leipsic. 1922.
- Assos.** Investigations at Assos: drawings and photographs of the buildings and objects discovered during the excavations of 1881-3. By J. T. Clarke, F. H. Bacon, R. Koldewey. Edited by F. H. Bacon.  $21\frac{1}{4} \times 14\frac{1}{2}$ . London: Cambridge, Mass.: Leipsic. 1902-1921.
- Aufhauser (J. B.)** Das Drachenwunder des Heiligen Georg. See *Byzantinisches Archiv*. 5.
- Ausonius.** With an English translation by H. G. E. White. Vol. II. With the Eucharisticus of PAULINUS PELLAECUS. [Loeb Class. Lib.]  $6\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ . 1921.
- Bacon (F. H.)** *Editor*. See Assos.
- Bailey (C.)** *Editor*. See Lucretius.
- Bang (W.)** Ueber die Herkunft des Codex Cumanicus. [Preuss. phil.-hist. Sitzber. Feb., 1913.]  $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ . Berlin. 1913.
- Barber (E. A.)** See Powell (J. V.).
- Barton (J. E.)** A short guide to reading and notes on works of art.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ . Wakefield. 1915.
- Bauer (P. V. C.)** *Editor*. See Stoddard Collection.
- Baumeister (A.)** Bilder aus dem griechischen und römischen Altertum für Schüler.  $10\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ . Munich. 1889.
- Baumgarten (F.) Poland (F.) and Wagner (R.)** Die Hellenische Kultur, 3rd edition.  $10 \times 7$ . Leipsic. 1913.
- Baumstark (A.)** Geschichte der syrischen Literatur.  $10\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$ . Bonn. 1922.
- Beaman (A. G. Hulme-)** Twenty years in the Near East. 9 x 6. 1898.
- Berlin.** Archaeological Institute. Jahresbericht über die Thätigkeit des K. Deutschen archäologischen Instituts.  $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ . Berlin. 1895-1904, 1907-08, 1911-12.
- Berlin.** Königliche Museen zu Berlin. Beschreibung der antiken Münzen, I, II, III (1).  $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ . Berlin. 1888-9.
- Berlin.** Handbücher d. Königl. Mus. zu Berlin. Museum für Völkerkunde. Buddhistische Kunst in Indien. Von A. Grünwedel.  $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5$ . Berlin. 1900.
- Berlin.** Handbücher d. staatl. Mus. zu Berlin. Die griechische Skulptur, von R. Kekule von Stradonitz. Dritte Auflage bearbeitet von B. Schroeder.  $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ . Berlin and Leipsic. 1922.
- Bernadakes (G.)** Λεξικὸν ἐρμηνευτικὸν τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων Ἑλλήνων ποιητῶν καὶ συγγραφέων. 2nd ed.  $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ . Athens. 1918.
- Bidez (J.)** La tradition manuserite du Lexique de Suidas. [Preuss. phil.-hist. Sitzber., Jul. 1912.]  $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ . Berlin. 1912.
- Bidez (J.)** *Editor*. See Julian.

r.s.=the property of the Roman Society.

- Billings (G. H.)** *The Art of Transition in Plato.*  
 $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ . Chicago. 1920.
- Blake (E. M.)** *Dynamic Symmetry; a criticism.* [Art. Bull. 3.]  
 $10 \times 7$ . Providence. 1921.
- Blegen (C. W.)** *Korakou: a prehistoric settlement near Corinth.*  
 [Am. School of Class. Stud. at Athens.]  
 $12 \times 9$ . Boston and N. Y. 1921.
- Boethius (A.)** *Der Argivische Kalender.*  $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ . Uppsala. 1922.
- Bond (F. B.)** See Lea (T. S.).
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- c 426 Reconstruction of an Etruscan temple (outline drawing only).  
 c 383 Early forms of palmette (Meurer, *Formenlehre*, p. 56)  
 c 384 Later forms of palmette (*id.*, p. 303).  
 c 391 Relief from house of Eumachia (*id.*, p. 210).  
 c 392 Scroll from Forum of Trajan in Lateran (*id.*, p. 414).  
 c 394 Acanthus frieze from Bouyes, 12th century (*id.*, p. 415, fig. 14).  
 c 393 Scroll from Baalbek (Wiegand, *All. Denk. aus Syria*, pl. 76).  
 c 396 Frieze with acanthus and animals from Pompeii.  
 c 414 Coptic frieze animal forms in scrolls (Wulff, *All. chr. Bildw.*, 211).  
 c 419 Christian panel from Porto (Marucchi, *Mon. d. Mus. Crist. Lat.*, pl. 4).

- 6365 The Radcliffe Library, Oxford. From a drawing (Fergusson, *Mod. Arch.*, p. 290).  
 6366 St. George's Hall, Liverpool. From a drawing (*id.*, p. 307).

## SCULPTURE, &c.

\* = taken from original or adequate reproduction.

- c 227 Archaic Medusa,\* from pediment at Corfu.  
 6699 Archaic male torso,\* B.M.  
 c 225 Relief (Athens, 1922) group of athletes \* (*J.H.S.*, 42, pl. 6a).  
 c 224 „ „ wrestling\* (*id.*, pl. 6b).  
 c 226 „ „ epheboi with animals \* (*id.*, pl. 6c).  
 c 223 „ „ chariot scene \* (*id.*, pl. 7a).  
 c 222 „ „ playing hockey \* (*id.*, pl. 7b).  
 c 221 „ „ chariot scene \* (*id.*, pl. 7c).  
 5569 Thasos, archaic relief \* from : Hermes and a nymph.  
 5570 „ „ „ „ three nymphs.\*  
 1009 The Elgin Marbles in Park Lane, 1810. Sketch by Cockerell (*J.H.S.*, 36, p. 299)  
 1220 „ „ „ The temporary Elgin room. Drawing by Prior (*id.*, p. 350).  
 1017 „ „ „ „ „ „ By Archer, circ. 1817 (*id.*, p. 352).  
 5984 Draped female torso \* from Claudos (Crete). B.M.  
 c 163 Diadumenos from Delos,\* head of.  
 5565 Lycian monument \* : the tomb of Payava. B.M.  
 6700 Standing discobolos.\* B.M.  
 c 233 **Aphrodite** \* (Medici type). Rockfeller Coll.  
 1021 **Athena**, head by Euboulides.\* Ath. Nat. Mus. 234 (Dickins, *Hell. Sculpt.*, fig. 44).  
 5921 **Eros** with the bow.\* B.M.  
 1043 **Nike** of Euboulides.\* Ath. Nat. Mus. 233 (Dickins, *Hell. Sculpt.*, fig. 43).  
 6197 **Zeus**, head of \* : Otricoli collection.  
 B9959 Relief from tomb of Haterii : detail showing workmen on crane (from a drawing).  
 5713 „ „ Arch of the Goldsmiths, Rome.\* Severus and Julia Domna sacrificing.  
 B9628 „ of C. Julius Saecularis.\* Mus. Terme (Altman, *Röm. Grab-altäre*, fig. 179).  
 B9911 „ of a warrior leading a horse.\* Corstopitum (*Report*, 1908, p. 40, fig. 11).  
 B9931 „ Mithraic relief found at Hulme, 1821 \* (*Roman Fort*, pl. 12).  
 B9966 „ Capture of a daughter of Leucippus.\* Basilica near Porta Maggiore, Rome.  
 c 380 Aphrodisias frieze. B.M. Siren and Seasons.\*  
 c 381 „ „ „ Hunting, etc.\*  
 c 382 „ „ „ Cock fight : Birdcage.\*

- c 373-6 (4 slides). Pilasters from *Thermae of Aphrodisias* \* (cf. *Constant. Mus. Cat.* 493).  
 c 400 'Tomb of Theodorus.' \* S. Apollinare in Classe.  
 c 418 Pierced decorative panel; cross between birds : scroll work.\*  
 c 412 Early Christian Tomb in Lateran \* (Marucchi, *Mon. d. Mus. Crist. Lat.*, pl. 32).

- c 170 Porphyry group of four knights.\* St. Mark's, Venice.  
 c 171 " " " " " "  
 c 166 Byzantine relief of a bull.\* Acrop., Athens.

6200 **Augustus**,\* head of.

c 164 **Demosthenes**,\* head of.

6364 **Harpocrates**, head of. B.M.

1063 **Plato**,\* bust (*J.H.S.*, 40, p. 191). Vat. Mus.

7185 Bronze statuette of Apollo \* dedicated by Ganyaridas. B.M. (*J.H.S.*, 29, p. 156. fig. 7b).

c 86 " Etruscan statue. The 'Orator,' \* Florence.

c2014 " Hermes from Anticythera,\* head of.

c 229 " statue of a boy,\* Met. Mus., New York.

c 237 " horses \*: St. Mark's, Venice.

7886 Terra-cotta Etruscan funerary group.\* B.M.

c 238 " Apollo (6th century) from Veii.\* Front view.

c 239 " " " " " " \* Back view.

7119 " Tanagra figurines \*: three ladies in outdoor dress.

c 423 " Etruscan masks \* (B.M., *Cat. Vases*, I. (2), pl. 18).

7189 " foodwarmer in the form of a shrine \* (*J.H.S.*, 29, p. 164).

## VASES.

\* Denotes a photographic view of the whole vase from the original.

c 150 Interior of B.F. dish : a vineyard (drawing only).

2187 Crater in Louvre : above, the Argonauts : below, the Niobids (outline drawings).

c 141 Cantharos \*: a lady spinning. B.M. (*J.H.S.*, 41, pl. 5).

c 143 Oinochoe \*: children playing with dog and hoop. B.M. (*J.H.S.*, 41, p. 148).

c 144 Lehythos \*: garden scene. B.M. (*J.H.S.*, 41, pl. 3).

c 146 Oinochoe \*: children with cart. B.M. (*J.H.S.*, 41, pl. 5).

c 149 Lid of Pyxis : \* ladies at play. B.M. (*J.H.S.*, 41, pl. 3).

B9915 'Samian' bowl. \*Colchester.

B9937 " " \*Manchester (*Roman Fort at Manchester*, pl. 99).

B9938 " " \*Manchester (*id.*, pl. 26).

B9949 " " \*Castleshaw.

B9953 " " \*

B9936 " pottery. \*Ellesmere Collection (*Roman Fort at Manchester*, pl. 99).

B9954 Grey ware \* (*Roman Fort*, pl. 98, 1).

## PAINTING AND MOSAIC.

c 234 **Beit Jibrin** (Samaria). Greek painted tomb. Interior of main chamber.

B9963 **Boscotrese** fresco, garden scene.

B9967 **Rome**, Tomb near Porta Maggiore, fresco 'the Twelve Apostles.'

5930 **Naples** : Mosaic of fine style : priestess, or votary, holding offering.

## THE MINOR ARTS.

- c 159** Tetradrachm of Thurium with head of Athena in fine style.
- B9968** Bronze mooring-ring from Lake Nemi.  
3560 „ prow of Roman galley : Actium. B.M.  
**B9932** „ and silver objects (*Roman Fort at Manchester*, pl. 43).  
**B9935** „ flagon (*id.*, pl. 95).  
**B9934** „ fibulae, etc. Ellesmere Collection (*id.*, pl. 89).  
**c 421** „ mask of Roman parade helmet from Ain Tab. B.M.  
**c 422** „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ (B.M., *Cat. Bronzes*, 877).  
**c 151** Iron helmet with vizor mask from Newstead (Curle, *Roman Frontier Fort*, pl. 29).  
**c 152** Brass vizor mask (*id.*, pl. 30).
- c 378** Lead coffins from Sidon. B.M.  
**B9608** „ „ „ „ Colchester.
- 3381 Silver armband from Sierra Morena (*Num. Chron.*, 1912, p. 65).  
3382 „ torc from Sierra Nevada (*id.*, p. 66).
- c 413** Ivory diptych of Arcobindus (Molinier, *Ivories*, pl. 3).  
**c 415** Coptic ivories (Wulff, *Alt. chr. Bildw.*, pl. 27).  
**c 420** Bookcover : the legend of S. Gall. (Molinier, *Ivories*, pl. 11).

## MISCELLANEA.

- C 228** California University; stage of Greek theatre.  
**C 424** The hoplite race (drawing).  
**C 425** A stadion race (drawing).
- B9933** Phalera (soldier's clasp) (*Roman Fort at Manchester*, pl. 88).  
**B9951** Pila muralia. Castleshaw.  
**B9952** „ „ from Oberaden.  
**B9950** 'Uppers' of Roman shoes, Castleshaw.  
**B9955** Mortar. (*Roman Fort at Manchester*, pl. 68).
- 7885** Modern Greek life: children with mule.



## NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS.

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THE Council of the Hellenic Society having decided that it is desirable for a common system of transliteration of Greek words to be adopted in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, the following scheme has been drawn up by the Acting Editorial Committee in conjunction with the Consultative Editorial Committee, and has received the approval of the Council.

In consideration of the literary traditions of English scholarship, the scheme is of the nature of a compromise, and in most cases considerable latitude of usage is to be allowed.

(1) All Greek proper names should be transliterated into the Latin alphabet according to the practice of educated Romans of the Augustan age. Thus  $\kappa$  should be represented by *c*, the vowels and diphthongs, *v*, *ai*, *oi*, *ov*, by *y*, *ae*, *oe*, and *u* respectively, final *-os* and *-ov* by *-us* and *-um*, and *-pos* by *-er*.

But in the case of the diphthong  $\epsilon\iota$ , it is felt that *ei* is more suitable than *e* or *i*, although in names like *Laodicea*, *Alexandria*, where they are consecrated by usage, *e* or *i* should be preserved; also words ending in *-ειον* must be represented by *-eum*.

A certain amount of discretion must be allowed in using the *o* terminations, especially where the Latin usage itself varies or prefers the *o* form, as *Delos*. Similarly Latin usage should be followed as far as possible in *-e* and *-a* terminations, e.g., *Priene*, *Smyrna*. In some of the more obscure names ending in *-πος*, as *Λέαγρος*, *-er* should be avoided, as likely to lead to confusion. The Greek form *-ον* is to be preferred to *-o* for names like *Dion*, *Hieron*, except in a name so common as *Apollo*, where it would be pedantic.

Names which have acquired a definite English form, such as *Corinth*, *Athens*, should of course not be otherwise represented. It is hardly necessary to point out that forms like *Hercules*, *Mercury*, *Minerva*, should not be used for *Heracles*, *Hermes*, and *Athena*.

(2) Although names of the gods should be transliterated in the same way as other proper names, names of personifications and epithets such as *Nike*, *Momonoia*, *Hyakinthios*, should fall under § 4.

(3) In no case should accents, especially the circumflex, be written over vowels to show quantity.

(4) In the case of Greek words other than proper names, used as names of personifications or technical terms, the Greek form should be transliterated letter for letter, *k* being used for *κ*, *ch* for *χ*, but *y* and *u* being substituted for *υ* and *ου*, which are misleading in English, e.g., *Nike*, *apoxyomenos*, *diadumenos*, *rhyton*.

This rule should not be rigidly enforced in the case of Greek words in common English use, such as *aegis*, *symposium*. It is also necessary to preserve the use of *ou* for *ου* in a certain number of words in which it has become almost universal, such as *boule*, *gerousia*.

(5) The Acting Editorial Committee are authorised to correct all MSS. and proofs in accordance with this scheme, except in the case of a special protest from a contributor. All contributors, therefore, who object on principle to the system approved by the Council, are requested to inform the Editors of the fact when forwarding contributions to the Journal.

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In addition to the above system of transliteration, contributors to the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* are requested, so far as possible, to adhere to the following conventions :—

*Quotations from Ancient and Modern Authorities.*

Names of authors should not be underlined; titles of books, articles, periodicals or other collective publications should be underlined (for italics). If the title of an article is quoted as well as the publication in which it is contained, the latter should be bracketed. Thus :

Six, *Jahrb.* xviii. 1903, p. 34,

or—

Six, *Protophones* (*Jahrb.* xviii. 1903), p. 34.

But as a rule the shorter form of citation is to be preferred.

The number of the edition, when necessary, should be indicated by a small figure above the line; e.g. Dittenb. *Syll.*<sup>2</sup> 123.

*Titles of Periodical and Collective Publications.*

The following abbreviations are suggested, as already in more or less general use. In other cases, no abbreviation which is not readily identified should be employed.

- A.-E.M.* = Archäologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen.  
*Ann. d. I.* = Annali dell' Istituto.  
*Arch. Anz.* = Archäologischer Anzeiger (Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch).  
*Arch. Zeit.* = Archäologische Zeitung.  
*Ath. Mitth.* = Mittheilungen des Deutschen Arch. Inst., Athenische Abtheilung.  
*Baumeister* = Baumeister, Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums.  
*B.C.H.* = Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.  
*Berl. Vas.* = Furtwängler, Beschreibung der Vasensammlung zu Berlin.  
*B.M. Bronzes* = British Museum Catalogue of Bronzes.  
*B.M.C.* = British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins.  
*B.M. Inscr.* = Greek inscriptions in the British Museum.  
*B.M. Vases* = British Museum Catalogue of Vases, 1893, etc.  
*B.S.A.* = Annual of the British School at Athens.  
*Bull. d. I.* = Bullettino dell' Istituto.  
*C.I.G.* = Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.  
*C.I.L.* = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.  
*Cl. Rev.* = Classical Review.  
*C.R. Acad. Inscr.* = Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions.  
*Dar.-Sagl.* = Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités.  
*Dittenb. Syll.* = Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum.  
*Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* = Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική.  
*G.D.I.* = Gollitz, Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften.  
*Gerh. A.V.* = Gerhard, Ausgerlesene Vasenbilder.  
*G.G.A.* = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.  
*I.G.* = Inscriptiones Graecae.<sup>1</sup>  
*I.G.A.* = Röhl, Inscriptiones Graecae antiquissimae.  
*Jahrb.* = Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.  
*Jahresh.* = Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen Archäologischen Institutes.  
*J.H.S.* = Journal of Hellenic Studies.  
*Le Bas-Wadd.* = Le Bas-Waddington, Voyage Archéologique.  
*Michel* = Michel, Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques.  
*Mon. d. I.* = Monumenti dell' Istituto.  
*Müller-Wies.* = Müller-Wieseler, Denkmäler der alten Kunst.  
*Mus. Marbles* = Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum.  
*Neue Jahrb. kl. Alt.* = Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum.  
*Neue Jahrb. Phil.* = Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie.

<sup>1</sup> The attention of contributors is called to the fact that the titles of the volumes of the second issue of the Corpus of Greek Inscriptions, published by the Prussian Academy, have now been changed, as follows :—

- I.G.* I. = Inscr. Atticae anno Euclidis vetustiores.  
 „ II. = „ „ aetatis quae est inter Eucl. ann. et Augusti tempora.  
 „ III. = „ „ aetatis Romanae.  
 „ IV. = „ Argolidis.  
 „ VII. = „ Megaridis et Boeotiae.  
 „ IX. = „ Graeciae Septentrionalis.  
 „ XII. = „ insul. Maris Aegaei praeter Delum.  
 „ XIV. = „ Italiae et Siciliae.



*Num. Chr.* = Numismatic Chronicle.

*Num. Zeit.* = Numismatische Zeitschrift.

Pauly-Wissowa = Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.

*Philol.* = Philologus.

*Rev. Arch.* = Revue Archéologique.

*Rev. Ét. Gr.* = Revue des Études Grecques.

*Rev. Num.* = Revue Numismatique.

*Rev. Philol.* = Revue de Philologie.

*Rh. Mus.* = Rheinisches Museum.

*Röm. Mith.* = Mittheilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abtheilung.

Roscher = Roscher, Lexicon der Mythologie.

*T.A.M.* = Tituli Asiatic Minoris.

*Z. f. N.* = Zeitschrift für Numismatik.

### *Transliteration of Inscriptions.*

[ ] Square brackets to indicate additions, *i.e.* a lacuna filled by conjecture.

( ) Curved brackets to indicate alterations, *i.e.* (1) the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol: (2) letters misrepresented by the engraver: (3) letters wrongly omitted by the engraver; (4) mistakes of the copyist.

< > Angular brackets to indicate omissions, *i.e.* to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.

. . . Dots to represent an unfilled lacuna when the exact number of missing letters is known.

- - - Dashes for the same purpose. when the number of missing letters is not known.

Uncertain letters should have dots under them.

Where the original has iota adscript, it should be reproduced in that form; otherwise it should be supplied as subscript.

The aspirate, if it appears in the original, should be represented by a special sign, ʾ.

### *Quotations from MSS. and Literary Texts.*

The same conventions should be employed for this purpose as for inscriptions, with the following *important exceptions* :—

( ) Curved brackets to indicate only the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol.

[ [ ] ] Double square brackets to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.

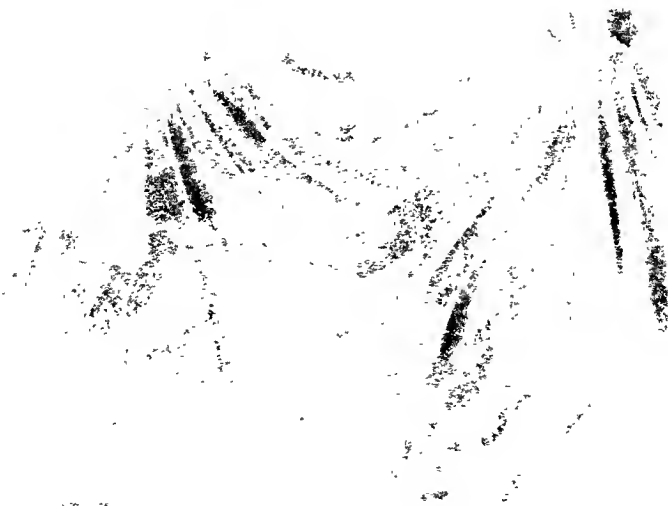
< > Angular brackets to enclose letters supplying an omission in the original.

The Editors desire to impress upon contributors the necessity of clearly and accurately indicating accents and breathings, as the neglect of this precaution adds very considerably to the cost of production of the *Journal*.

ATHLETE

ROME, PALAZZO DEI CONSERVATORI.





STATUE OF A GIRL (FRAGMENT)

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**SLEEPING EROS**

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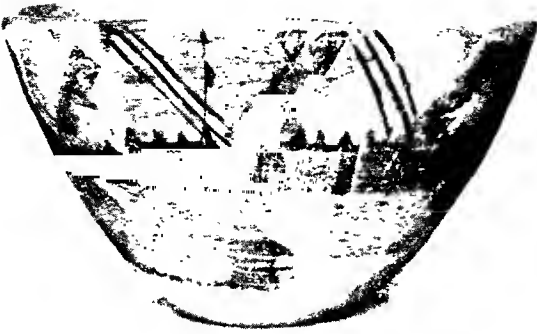


MARBLE RELIEF FROM THE ESQUILINE

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BOWL (SCALE 1:3). RED, BLACK AND WHITE.



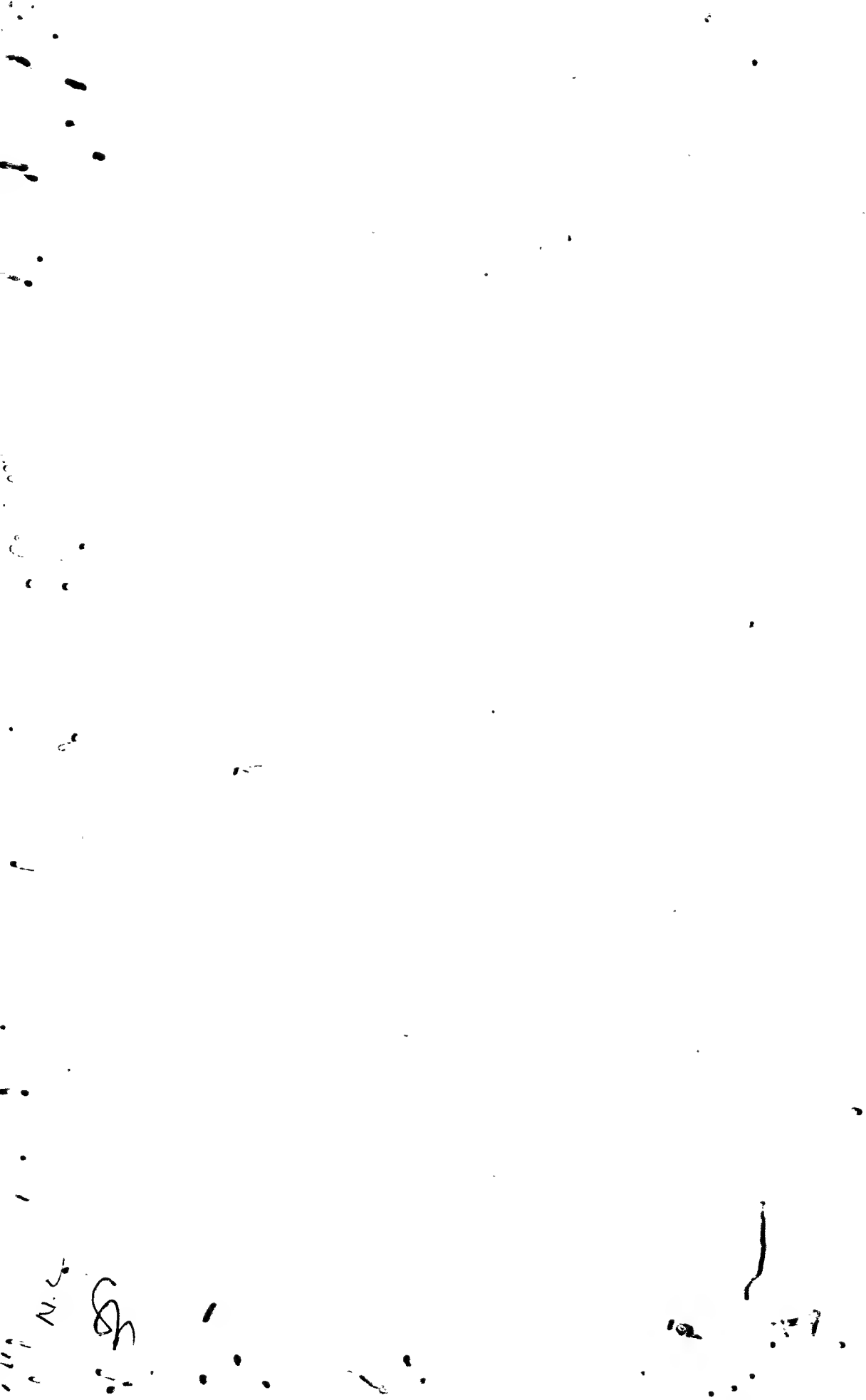
LARGE URNS (SCALE 1:7). *b*, BLACK OVER RED ON BUFF CLAY. *c*, RED, BLACK AND WHITE.

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